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JOURNAL OF APPLIED SOCIOLOGY

Presenting a Scientific Study of Social Problems

PUBLISHED BI-MONTHLY BY THE SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY
AND UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA, 3551 UNIVERSITY AVE., LOS ANGELES
YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION, \$2.50 SINGLE COPIES, 50c

Entered as second class matter March 29, 1922, at the post office at Los Angeles, Cal., under the Act of August 24, 1912. Acceptance for mailing at special rate of Postage provided for in Sec. 1103, Act of October 3, 1917, authorized April 11, 1922.

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DIFFUSION OF CULTURE

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CULTURE is a general term to express the achievements of humanity represented in customs, language, arts and sciences, etc., which have reached such definite expression or form that they may be transferred from one group to another or handed down through social heredity. They may be in material form or merely a fixed belief, custom, law, or habit of life, so clearly defined that they may be borrowed, diffused, or handed down through succeeding generations. Cultures are thus realities of human achievement and human progress, though they may not always be human betterments. The development of culture follows along the line of art, involving a program and its application. In this sense all civilization is artificial as opposed to natural products.

The origin and development of the pattern is primary in the evolution of culture. Patterns may be mental where an established concept or custom is impressed upon the memory and handed down in continuity of life of a group or communicated to other groups. Or they may be of material form, as a product of the mental pattern, and thus be a visible product passed on as part of social heredity. In either case patterns are not ready-made and must have had a long time in development before they become fixed or established forms. The historical processes of the origin of primitive patterns can not be determined. Here we must dwell upon assumption founded on the successive states of development of early cultures. The record of the

successive appearances of a pattern changed in form, from stage to stage, through necessity and adaptation to new conditions, enables us to follow back the pattern through the early stages of its existence.

But the origin of the first stage of culture, like all origins of social and cultural development, is merely an assumption with a high degree of probability. For example, we may assume that throwing stones or clubs at birds, animals, or men, in the pursuit of food or in defense against enemies, was common among primitive people. The round stone found in the stream, worn smooth by the action of ice or water, used at first tentatively, to be thrown away after use, was finally carried as a permanent weapon and shaped and polished for its purpose. It finally became a tribal pattern. Likewise, when a hammer was needed, a stone was taken incidentally from the ledge, used and thrown away. To obtain a better grasp the stone was broken or chipped by the impact from other stones. Gradually it assumed a form of permanent value for efficient service and became a pattern to be followed in the construction of a similar instrument for a similar purpose. Desiring to cut a piece of bark or the hide of an animal, the native finds a stone with a sharp edge for the purpose. Primarily this is not preserved. But to make it cut better he chips the edge and in its improved state carries it as a permanent implement to be perfected and changed into many differentiated forms, such as axes, knives, scrapers, etc. These finally become established patterns for the artificers of the tribe and for the more universal use of other tribes. The successive stages of art development would seem to indicate that the assumption of origins has a strong probability of truth.

The thought pattern is more difficult to follow as it is not always expressed in the concrete. But no concrete

expression in a well formed pattern can exist unless the mental pattern precedes it or accompanies its construction, just as the house finds its pattern in the mind of the architect.

There are mental patterns for the expression of ideas to others. The idea of the origin of the earth, of man, or the idea of the spirit, finally becomes a mental pattern or thought of the individual and a social pattern of the group. So, too, a language, which involves the expression of life, and the expression of thoughts to others, becomes through repeated use a fixed pattern of communication, to be handed down through the social heredity of the generations, but always with modifications and adaptations to use. However, in patterns of this nature one must consider that the idea of self-expression is never lost because every individual in the group differs from every other individual with respect to the pattern. Language must begin with a common sign or symbol recognized by those attempting communication. It may be a gesture, a tone, or a written symbol. But once recognized it becomes a means of interpreting the meaning of those associated. In fact the sign is the means of self-expression of the individual's own life. Each has his own language for the expression of emotions, belief, and opinions. Whatever assumptions we make they must be accompanied with the fact that a long period of time existed while man was blundering forward in the formative period of definite patterns.

Entering a period of greater certainty of art advancement, definite centers of culture are revealed. Owing to convenience of material and the necessity for use, one group creates fixed patterns of stone implements, clay bowls and vases, wooden cups, a special kind of bow and arrow, or a special type of clothing. Each culture spreads over certain areas. The extent of these areas is determined

by human contacts brought about by war, migrations, food areas, and finally assimilation of groups. This applies to a large variety of achievements or cultures, and areas vary greatly in extent. Thus, Dr. Wissler in *Man and Culture* has shown that the Eskimo cultures "center in the vicinity of Coronation Gulf west of Hudson Bay."¹ From this center they extended in all directions. The range of the *Kayak* extends from northern Greenland west to Siberia. The domesticated dog has accompanied man from central Asia to "the very ends of the earth by the expansion of the human race," and the domesticated horse from the steppes of Asia, through eastern Asia, throughout Europe to the Americas. On the other hand, many indigenous cultures of lesser moment have remained within small areas, or confined to special tribal groups. Religious ideas and language are frequently circumscribed by tribal and group life. However, language through its later development broke through the barriers of tribal exclusiveness, to be later differentiated into separate dialects. The diffusion of cultures has been advanced or retarded by the barriers of the earth: by seas, rivers, mountains, plains, and fertile valleys. The impelling food quest drove man on, ever on, in his migrations, and with him followed culture, either original or borrowed.

The methods of diffusion of cultures are by borrowing of the pattern followed by imitation and change to suit new conditions, by borrowing the idea or mental suggestion to be worked out in a new art plan or program to meet the demands of the culture state of the borrowing tribe, or group. One of the most striking illustrations of diffusion is that related by Kroeber in *Anthropology*² of the

¹ *Man and Culture*, p. 130.

² *Anthropology*, p. 202.

Huichol tribe in the remote mountains of Mexico, of the double-headed eagle which they use as a design, and with which they believe that their ancestors had always been conversant. But it is traced by Dr. Kroeber to Spain, thence to southern Europe, thence to the cliffs of Asia Minor, and thence to Egypt, where it originated as a symbol of the great god of the sun, and the sacred birds, the hawk and the vulture, in combination. It is interesting that as an emblem of sovereignty used by the princes of Europe, and later as a more specific symbol of the late emperors of Russia and Austro-Hungary, the users apparently knew not of its Egyptian origin. One might remark here that while he may study the diffusion of cultures in general with comparative ease, if he seeks the origin of a special pattern he will be led a long and tedious journey frequently with less positive results than discovered by Dr. Kroeber.

In this connection it may be stated that similar cultures may originate in widely separated tribes with no possible contacts owing to the universal character of the human mind, causing them at a certain stage of culture with similar environment and similar needs to create an article or instrument almost identical, without any borrowing, imitating, or suggestion one from the other. Yet it is easy to be led astray, as the pre-history of each group might determine an earlier contact if one but knew it.

Diffusion of cultures is enhanced by all kinds of social contacts. Migrations of people over the earth at an early stage of development (or indeed in developed civilization) carried cultures over the earth. In a later stage of development, when groups had secured an independent organization, trade and barter were a means of extending the area of not only art products but forms of social order. Cultural evolution was thus stimulated, specifically in a tribe or nation, and made for world culture.

Culture diffusion by contact was supplemented by organized effort after a tribe or race had become dominant by the processes of social evolution. Organized effort by a group or nation to force its own cultures on others, through war and conquest or through colonization, has been a constant factor in history; or through trade, as in case of England forcing the use of opium on an unwilling Chinese people; or with entirely different purpose, missionary zeal that seeks to force a religion upon a people who do not receive the word gladly. Again in case of the American Indian, where intoxicating liquor has been forced on him through trade, and later where by dominance and paternal care for many years education was forced on him not by arms but by organized effort which he did not or could not resist, if he hoped to survive. In such cases the weaker or backward tribe or nation without the tools of civilization succumbs to power, whether of physical force, persuasion, intellectual power, or fear. Most cases of the diffusion of cultures under organized effort may be resolved into two methods, one of culture addition in which the tribe or nation accepts what is forced upon it and the other that of substituting one culture for another. The addition of cultures of today in which we in the United States use the science, the art, the music and the literature of other nations in addition to what we have, and other nations use what of profit they may of our mechanical genius or of our universal education or our experiment in democracy, are good illustrations of a universal method of exchange of cultures. Our modern missionary effort is a good illustration of how we endeavor to supplant old religious cultures by the more modern Christian religion, by philanthropic suggestion. Perhaps in recent years there is a tendency to use what is good of other religions, and other civilizations, and to do this by building upon

them rather than in trying to blot them out and substitute for them our own religion and our own civilization. What we consider best for us might not be best for other races and peoples. In any case, the diffusion of cultures which occurs naturally and by contact on a living basis of good will and opportunity will be more influential for human progress than that imposed by organized effort, especially if it partake of dominant force.

As this brief article will not permit of complete analysis the following outline suggesting further study is given:

Diffusion of Cultures

1. Evolution of culture patterns
2. Distribution of culture patterns
 - a. Centers of culture
 - b. Culture areas
 - c. Pattern borrowing; imitation, adaptation
 - d. Borrowing idea; new art program
 - e. Trade and barter
 - f. Social contact distribution
 - g. Migration distribution.
3. Enforced or organized diffusion
 - a. Organized trade
 - b. Organized effort in religion
 - c. War and conquest
 - d. Race domination
 - e. Colonization and immigration
 - f. Culture additions
 - g. Culture substitution

THE SOCIAL INHERITANCE

A Parable

IRA W. HOWERTH

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ONCE UPON A TIME certain brothers jointly inherited from their father a large tract of land. They had never seen their father, nor did they know anything about him except that he had bestowed upon them a beauteous and fruitful place in which to live.

When these brothers married, and went to take possession of their inheritance, the stronger and more aggressive of them claimed the best land, even more of it than they could use, leaving to the weaker and less aggressive the parts of little value or of no value at all. This arrangement was justified on the ground that superior endowments entitled their possessors to first consideration in the division of the land. Moreover, it was stoutly asserted, by those who claimed to know, that this arrangement was in conformity with the will of their father. In general the weaker brethren acquiesced in this view of the matter, but in case of dissatisfaction they were told that it is a recognized law of nature that —

*"They should take who have the power,
And they should keep who can."*

In a short time, however, it was discovered that by mistake of judgment some of the weaker brethren had unwittingly been permitted to appropriate some desirable land. This required, of course, some rearrangement. In consequence, there were instituted by some of the brethren ous-

ter proceedings against others, of a nature not necessary here to describe, but they bore little relation to what the defendants rather irrelevantly spoke of as "justice." The ejected were told that they were free to go elsewhere, only it so happened that there was no place to go. Hence, to remedy this disagreeable situation the "expropriated," as they were sometimes called, were allowed to work for their "betters," first as slaves and, later, when this institution was seen to involve an unnecessary responsibility, as laborers for wages. This was regarded by all concerned, or at least by all whose concern was considered as important in the premises, as a particularly beneficent arrangement; for was it not obvious that the dispossessed could not manage even to exist without a place to live and some work to do? So, much was said of the charitable disposition and disinterested generosity of those who had brought this situation about, particularly among themselves. When by their own idleness they failed to produce anything, or by extravagance and dissipation occasioned great waste of what had been produced, they comforted themselves with the reflection that they were thus providing work for their poorer brethren. It thus became axiomatic that the idleness of some was a blessing to others; and that some must waste that others might live.

From the beginning there arose among these brothers disputes concerning boundary lines. These disputes of course led to much hard feeling, resulting sometimes in conflicts in which whole families were killed and much property wasted and destroyed. When, at great loss of life and property, and the engendering of much hatred, frontiers were "rectified," as they called it, it was necessary to fortify these boundary lines at strategic points, and delegate physically fit members of each family concerned to defend them. Preparation, they insisted, was the better

part of valor. This went on until the maintenance of *posse comitati*, later called armies, became a part of the established order, a sort of social habit, so to speak; and, strangely enough, looking for trouble, preparing for it in time of peace, and putting it down by force of arms when it did arise, came to be looked upon as about the most dignified and honorable business in which men could engage. Production was in part subjected to destruction. It is said that something like two-thirds of all the wealth produced by these brothers was consumed in fighting, in preparing to fight, and in carrying the debts incurred by it. Over one thing or another they were almost constantly at war.

As unfriendly conditions naturally engendered and perpetuated hatred and strife, it was necessary for each household to be as nearly self-supporting as possible. All manner of artificial barriers were therefore erected against the free concourse of goods and ideas. Each family, by living more or less to itself, developed strong hostility to the beliefs and manners of nearly all the other families, in so far as it had knowledge of them, which, of course, was only to a limited extent. This, too, led to further hostility, bitterness, and strife.

When these brothers were not at strife, preparing for it, or recovering from the effects of it, and particularly during such times, they were all engaged in destroying the resources of their inheritance by "butchering" the land, burning the forests, polluting the water supply, vitiating the air, wasting the minerals, killing off the animal life, and in general doing a great deal to make of their large inheritance a barren waste. They took little thought of the future.

Meantime, and with each of them, there were continual expressions of high respect, even adoration, for their benevolent father, and of a desire to do his will. By his will

they knew that they had been given the land, but that was about all they did know for certain. Some, indeed, most of them in fact, professed to know. They said it was the particular will of their father that they should fear him, and bow down and worship him. The chief end of man, they asserted, was to glorify him and enjoy him forever. Hence much time was spent and extraordinary means employed in praising his holy name, with the secret if not avowed hope that in such manner other good gifts would be made to come their way without effort on their part.

To be sure, there was much difference of opinion as to the right mode of worship, and the most effective method of preferring requests. Some held that only a particular ritual should be used; others that only a certain posture should be assumed. On these and such like matters there were long continued and violent disputes, sometimes resulting in bloody fights in which each contestant implored the father to interfere in his behalf and destroy all those who differed from him.

But it is not recorded, at least it has never been proved to the satisfaction of all, that the father ever responded to any of their calls for help, or ever manifested the least partiality as between brother and brother. There are traditions to the effect that he did, but they are not generally believed. To every appeal his only response was silence.

Now and then there arose among these brothers some impractical fellow who spoke somewhat in this wise:

"Brothers, I have given some thought to our existing situation, and it appears plain to me that something must be done or we shall all come to grief. The desire of all of us, in so far as we have conscious desire, appears to be essentially the same. We want fullness of life — health, bodily comforts, freedom from annoyance, good will, leisure, means of culture, etc. That is to say, each desires his

own happiness. Now I have my doubts whether anyone can obtain a full measure of happiness by acting primarily in his own behalf. Individual happiness seems rather to be of the nature of a social achievement. No one can be completely happy, I think, that is, happy in the fullest sense, unless all are so. The complete life of the individual necessitates the complete life of us all. Suppose, then, we begin with the assumption that our father meant well by us, otherwise he would not have bestowed upon us this inheritance. We have land enough for all, an abundant water supply, plenty of minerals, timber, animals and plant life, great natural forces, doubtless many yet to be discovered, so that our efforts to improve our condition can not be defeated either from want of means or lack of power. In addition to this material inheritance we have also an unlimited power of achievement. What, then, are the possibilities of achievement with the materials and forces at our command? Let us work this out in a scientific manner. If we formulate our ideal of living together and believe in the possibility of its realization, as we shall be warranted in doing if it is scientifically constructed, we shall seek to co-operate in its achievement. It will be the sensible thing to do. Through co-operation we shall develop a sympathy and love for each other, and these will supplant bitterness and hate. Indeed we shall have a new religion, a religion inspired by a common ideal, that is, by unity of purpose, and by the certainty of its possible achievement. It will be inspired also by the love of our father, whose will, it seems to me, is plainly revealed by the nature of our material inheritance and by the powers with which we are individually endowed. Is not the material and social situation in which we find ourselves, itself a revelation of our father's will? May we not reasonably conclude that his will is our happiness, since he has

made possible its attainment, and that we work together with the least possible friction, and the most accurate knowledge, to achieve it?"

But the brethren listened carelessly to this strange doctrine, when they listened at all. They pronounced its promulgator visionary; he had been eating hasheesh, or he was wicked and wanted only to destroy the established order in order to rise to power out of its ruins. They had no time to listen to such as he. The most charitable supposition heard of him was that he was a little off in the head.

And so to this day these brethren continue to waste their inheritance, to defeat their own purposes by needless strife, and to move toward chaos and destruction rather than toward order and life.

IS RACE PREJUDICE INNATE OR ACQUIRED?

KELLY MILLER

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PREJUDICE may be defined as a hasty emotional judgment evoked by surface appearance without due deliberation or examination of supporting facts. The term usually connotes an unfavorable bent or bias against the element to which it is applied. There is a spontaneous dislike of the different, and a shrinking from the strange, on first sight, which is usually mollified or planed away by better acquaintance and familiarity. Race prejudice undoubtedly springs from this source. Those who deem themselves well favored are always disposed to assume a superiority complex towards those who deviate from their standard, whether the basis of difference be natural or cultural. The historical prejudice of the Jew against the Gentile, the Greek against the Barbarian, the Christian against the heathen, is essentially of the same nature as that of the white against the non-white varieties of the human family which we observe today. It is consoling to human pride to assume divine origin for vaunted superiority. To impute to God or to nature the responsibility for our supercilious conceit not only vindicates our vanity but economizes intellectual exertion. It saves the labor and pains of finding a sound reason for the prerogative of which we boast. How much more soothing to royal pride and how much greater is the frugality of thought to assume the divine right of kings than to establish a logical basis for such assumption in fact and demonstration. It is both easier

and more agreeable to place the burden of proof on God or nature than to rely upon reason and logic. The Ku Klux Klan holds that race prejudice is an instinctive antipathy which is innate, inescapable, and everlasting. This it cherishes as its most passionate dogma, and spurns the idea of submitting the matter to the analysis of reason or the formulas of logic. We are amused at the assumption of easy familiarity with the eternal decrees. Our traditions teach us to see in Providence the source of all good; but our modern day oracles of Divinity would make God responsible for race prejudice, the master evil of the human race. We have been accustomed to rely upon learned experts and pious adepts to interpret the workings of the Almighty as displayed in nature and revealed in Providence. Klansmen have never been known to qualify in either capacity. We would naturally suspect any alleged process of nature or revelation of Providence sponsored by such proponents. Despite the cocksureness of these self-declared oracles who possess neither intellectual perspicacity nor spiritual discernment, science ventures no final word; anthropology has reached no definite conclusion, while the moral and spiritual law-givers of all lands and of all times have proclaimed the moral and spiritual unity of mankind. Pending the final determination of this question by learned experts, it is reserved to lay intelligence to analyze and interpret the plain facts of observation according to the laws of logic, rules of reason, and dictates of common sense.

Race prejudice is a fact whose existence is beyond cavil or dispute. Its stubbornness and persistence as an effective factor in our present day programs and policies is as determinative as any other sociological data with which we have to deal. Its origin and cause, consequence and cure, if cure there be, must be diligently inquired into be-

fore we can hope to formulate any effective or permanent plan of race adjustment.

Is race prejudice a natural antipathy, parallel with other instincts, which cannot be importantly affected by any means at human command, or is it merely a stimulated animosity, the outgrowth of circumstances and conditions which may be modified, mollified, or removed with provoking conditions? This query is not merely an idle intellectual curiosity stimulating abstract mental gymnastics. Upon its answer depend all of our programs of race relationship. The significance of the outcome cannot be overestimated. If the various races of mankind are instinctively antipathetic, we must revise all of our received religious and ethical teachings. The claims of Christianity would become absurd, democracy impossible, and the brotherhood of man unthinkable. If Japan and England are so diverse in their physical and psychic make-up that there must needs be eternal enmity between the two bloods for all time then amicable relations are impossible. There are five fairly well marked racial varieties of mankind. If nature has implanted in the structure of each irrevocable aversion for the rest, according to the law of permutation there would be one-hundred-and-twenty varieties of racial antipathies, each re-enforcing and strengthening the others. What basis would there be for the optimistic prophecy of peace on earth and good will among men? Every advance in knowledge and achievement in science and invention would but hasten the universal holocaust. The different bloods and breeds of mankind might well be satisfied within the circle of its own operation, if it might be confined to its own bounds of habitation. But science is breaking down the ancient barriers. Mountains and seas no longer keep peoples asunder. The ends of the earth are being brought into intimate contact and relationship. The Eu-

ropean will not be penned up in Europe, the Asiatic in Asia, the African in Africa, nor the lesser breeds in their little insular habitats. There can never be a meeting of the minds of mankind unless there is an underlying basis of human unity. The natural antipathy theory, whether proved or approved, would not only lead to the universal conflict of color, but to a world-wide deluge of diverse bloods.

On the other hand, if race prejudice is but a stimulated passion, like other forms of prejudice which have actuated mankind, then we may reasonably hope that it will be ameliorated, mollified, modified, and finally removed, as has been the case with sundry religious, political, and social prejudices, whose evil effects stain the pages of history. An affirmative answer to this query would fill the future with enmity and despair; a negative response would point in the direction of amity and hope.

But the laws of nature and the exactions of logic are heedless of human hopes and fears. The true scientific spirit will not shrink from the logical conclusions, however calamitous they might seem to be.

Fortunately, as it seems to me, a dispassionate analysis of the plain and undisputed facts in the case, according to the normal rules of argumentation, leads to the more assuring and consoling conclusion.

(1) Race prejudice is mainly a one-sided passion, and does not work with equal intensity in both directions. The antipathy of the black towards the white is not alleged and is not borne out by the facts of observation. It runs from the superior to the inferior, and not counterwise. If the apparent aversion were reciprocal, like that between cat and mouse, man and snake, the proof would be all but conclusive. On the other hand, it is often asserted that the Negro longs to lose his identity and become one with

the white race. Whatever of truth there might be in this allegation tends strongly to upset the theory that race prejudice is an instinctive antipathy. The inferior always pays homage to the superior. The white man occupies the ✓ higher stations in our social scheme; the Negro desires to be like him for the advantage which such likeness confers. If the conditions were reversed, there would doubtless be a (reversal) of racial attitudes. Ignorance would take on intelligence, poverty craves wealth, coarseness would acquire culture, impotence strives to increase in power. There is never a tendency in the opposite direction. But these are acquired, and not inherited characteristics. The obvious lack of the double-acting, reciprocal quality of race prejudice indicates strongly that it is of the nature of other acquired prejudices and is not a natural antipathy.

(2) Race prejudice does not manifest itself in infancy, and appears only after it has been stimulated by adult instruction. There are certain instincts, sex passion for example, which do not assert themselves until a certain stage of maturity has been reached, but they are always self-operative without any outside impartation. There does not seem to be any creditable evidence that race prejudice has ever asserted itself among children of different races aside from parental or other external stimulation. By imbibing prevailing social opinion any form of prejudice can easily be instilled in the minds of the young. By deliberate instillment every white parent in the South deems it his social duty to the white child to foster the feeling and belief that he is different from, better than, and superior to the black child with whom he is thrown into contact. This parental teaching is reinforced by social environment. Differences in feature of face, color of skin, and texture of hair are pointed to as proof positive. The history of race relationship, as master and slave, is appealed to as well as

the wide disparity of the social situation of the two groups being pointed out. Such insistent and persistent preachment is calculated to give the acquired prejudice the stubbornness and strength of instinct. This feeling is proportional to the prevalence of the preachment.

(3) Race prejudice is clearly modifiable by time, place, and circumstances. It varies in intensity in individuals, and in some instances, wholly disappears. All of which is directly contrary to instinctive antipathy. Negro race prejudice is stronger in South Carolina than it is in California, but Japanese race prejudice is stronger on the Pacific coast than in the Palmetto state. The Civil War, by engendering the passion for human liberty, all but wiped out the feeling for half a generation and wrote the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Federal Constitution, intended to hold its malignity in check for all time to come. One white person in a Negro environment all but forgets his race prejudice, but is quickly reminded when re-enforced by a number of his own color. A handful of Negroes in Maine arouses little or no race reaction, but the multitude of blacks in Mississippi awakens it into vigorous life and assertive power. The white man from the South goes North as a missionary and inculcates his doctrine where he goes. The Northerner with his cold indifference goes South and quickly imbibes the attitude of his new environment. These various forms of modifications and variations partake of the nature and character of acquired animosity rather than natural aversion.

(4) There is no discoverable aversion to the closest personal contact and personal association between the races, but rather to social familiarity and assumption of equality. The master and the man, the mistress and the maid, experience the closest touch and contact without engendering on the part of either the feeling of aversion or

antipathy, so long as the traditional social relations are observed. The Negro coachman drives the white master to the depot, riding side by side and cheek by jowl, but the overlord would immediately raise an outcry if made a joint occupant in a railway coach with his erstwhile complacent companion of the auto or the buggy ride. The Negro maid may ride in the Pullman with the white mistress as maid or nurse, but not as a lady paying her own fare. All these absurdities and inconsistencies clearly betray the origin and nature of race prejudice.

(5) Race prejudice is exhibited in varying degrees of intensity by the different sections of the white race. It seems to be stronger in the Nordic than in the Southern European. It is more assertive in Germany than in France. The Mahomedan shows less of it than the Christian; the Catholic less than the Protestant. The American Protestant introduced it into Catholic Cuba and Porto Rico along with his political and governmental policy. It is all but unknown in Brazil. The observed difference in race relationship in Rio de Janeiro and Richmond, Virginia, can hardly be accounted for on the basis of innate repugnance.

(6) The biologists tell us that natural antipathy hardly exists among varieties of the same species. The white, black, brown, red, and yellow peoples of the earth are but varieties of the human species. Abundant proof of this is found in the ready facility with which they interbreed. If the observed attitude of the German towards the Japanese or of the white American towards the Negro must needs be explained on the ground of innate aversion, then how shall we account for the emotional diversities between the Teuton and the Gaul, the Saxon and the Celt?

(7) Interbreeding is the acid test of natural antipathy. If the races were naturally and mutually antipathetic, there

would be no cross progeny on the face of the globe. The mutual willingness and frequency with which the members of the human family of the widest ethnic diversity interbreed proves their essential physical and emotional unity. There is no observed or recorded instance where human beings have been brought into contact where they have refused to cross-breed. The sexual urge is deeper than any alleged antipathy. The composite progeny in all parts of the world where different races have touched each other makes further argument on this point unnecessary. Two million mulattoes in the United States ought to convince the most skeptical on this point. It has not yet been shown that diversity of race weakens the emotional excitation or diminishes fecundity.

It would be aside from the present contention to introduce here the irrelevant issue of the relative physical qualities or mental capacities of the different races, or whether the mixed progeny is feebler than, equal to, or superior to either or both the producing parents. Such inquiry, however interesting it may be within itself, can have little or no bearing upon the question of natural antipathy.

(8) Marriage is a social institution established for the purpose of regulating the relation between the sexes according to approved standards. It is a purely voluntary agreement into which both parties enter with consenting minds and prompting hearts. It presupposes physical harmony and emotional accord. Here we see the most intimate of all human relationship. If there were such a thing as natural racial antipathy, intermarriage between the races would be unthinkable.

And yet cross-marriages are so likely that the community with fixed social policies and prejudices, dares not leave the matter to individual preference and predilection. Unnumbered individuals in both races would prefer to

marry across the race line, if they were not forbidden to do so by the ban of public opinion and the restraint of law. Why need the Pacific states pass laws forbidding intermarriage between whites and Mongolians, or the South between white and black, if natural antipathy could be relied on to uphold the prevailing social policy? The fact that twenty-nine states of the Union have enacted laws forbidding cross unions proves their doubt of the existence of instinctive racial antipathy. When men re-enact the laws of nature or of the Almighty their conduct casts suspicion upon their professed belief in the existence or the validity of such laws. In France there are no such prohibitive laws nor forbidding public opinion. We are told that a thousand Negro soldiers married French wives during the World War. Citation of the facts of intermarriage is not advocacy of it. Whether it is wise or foolish in face of racial feeling must be determined on the basis of reasoning apart from that adduced in this discussion. But the plain fact that individuals, in numbers, persist in preferring to marry across the line in spite of overwhelming public opinion furnishes an answer to the question — "Is Race Prejudice Innate or Acquired?"

RACE INVASION OF MALAYA

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THE MODERN world in some respects is like a city. It contains districts that are in a condition of stagnation or decline and districts that are bursting with activity and life. Seemingly, settlement runs a successional course of development. First, there is the frontier stage characterized by high mobility, unrest, and disorder. Next, there is the developmental stage in which a condition of economic and institutional equilibrium becomes established. This condition of equilibrium remains practically the same until some new factor is introduced to disturb the situation. Such cycles in plant ecology are called *successions*, a term which applies with almost equal validity to the different stages in human settlement.

Cycles of regional settlement have always existed, but the extension of communications in the last fifty years has greatly accelerated the process of change in certain regions of the world. Old historic spots such as Palestine and Syria, that had remained in a condition of equilibrium for centuries, have now suddenly commenced a new cycle of change; likewise various parts of the tropics, previously uninhabited or very sparsely settled, have recently burst into a condition of hyperactivity. The coast line of Asia is studded with little Europes, each a bursting, active nucleus which, like a disease germ, is causing change and irritation in its immediate surroundings. These new and active spots are directly related to the great urban centers

of Europe and America and are tied to them by electric communication as well as by established routes of transportation. In a word, these live spots in Asia and the tropical islands constitute the tap roots of the great economic and political organizations centered in the metropolitan communities of the West.

The recent demand for luxuries is directing capital into regions of the world which hitherto remained unoccupied or were developed under a different economy. The increased demand for sugar, tobacco, fruits, tea, coffee, and rubber during the last few decades has occasioned an invasion of the tropics and a coming together of different racial groups on an unprecedented scale. It has reorganized the plantation system of agriculture on a basis of highly specialized production for a world market with low-priced docile labor of a colored racial stock, large scale finance, and control under absentee ownership and direction.

BRITISH MALAYA

One of the most important plantation developments of modern times is that connected with the production of rubber in the Malay peninsula. This narrow tongue of land, protruding from the continent of Asia for a distance of six hundred miles almost to the equator, has suddenly been converted from a pathless jungle into a most intensively cultivated agricultural region. Twenty-five years ago British Malaya, which includes the entire area of the peninsula, was practically an unexplored region. Aside from the few port towns at which passing steamers stopped for fuel or to take on small cargoes of tin, coffee, and sugar, the peninsula was in the possession of primitive Malays and the beasts of the jungle. But early in the first decade of the century it was discovered that British Malaya was

excellently suited, both as to climate and soil, for the production of para rubber, and from that time, as by magic, the jungle was suddenly converted into endless rows of rubber trees. Western capital, mostly British, poured into Malaya with astonishing rapidity. The jungle was felled, piled in great heaps, and burned. Countless rows of rubber trees were planted in well cultivated fields. Roads were opened and a railway constructed throughout the entire length of the peninsula. The old port towns burst into new life as dried bulbs sprout when exposed to moisture and sunlight. Singapore, the principal port, is now a city of 350,000 inhabitants. Its wide streets, tram cars, automobiles, large business blocks, palatial suburban homes, clubs and golf courses give the traveler from China the impression that he has arrived at a new and vigorous spot on the globe. All the signs of an ancient historic past which have greeted him during his journey through Japan and China are absent in Singapore. There are no old pagodas, shrines, or temples towering above the skyline level to suggest the Eastern atmosphere. Instead there are the familiar criteria of the West, automobiles, garages, service stations, Palmolive Soap and Johnny Walker Whiskey signs — frequently intermixed in ludicrous combination with the primitive Malay culture. It is obvious that the invading culture is dominating the situation. The old order of Malay villages, paddies and buffaloes offers but slight resistance to the great driving forces which are swiftly bringing the peninsula under the dominance of the Western world-pattern.

INTER-RACIAL COMPETITION

Malaya is racially and culturally an interstitial area. It is the point at which the peoples of Malaya, India, the Netherlands, East Indies, China, and Europe come togeth-

er. The traveler in Singapore from the North is greatly impressed with this racial diversity. It presents a striking contrast to the apparent racial homogeneity of Japan and China. The 1921 census enumerates forty-seven different languages spoken among the inhabitants of Singapore, and a small mission school which I visited had thirty-four different languages represented among its pupils. The following table shows the racial composition of the population as enumerated in the census for the last three decades:

	1901	1911	1921
TOTALS	1,242,901	2,643,489	3,325,093
Europeans	6,517	11,085	14,954
Eurasians	9,189	10,870	12,645
Malays	528,263	1,437,712	1,651,051
Chinese	583,396	916,619	1,174,777
Indians	115,536	267,203	471,666

(The figures for 1901 include merely the Colony and the F. M. S. The U. F. M. S figures are not available; the others are for all three.)

The manner in which this motley group of races and babel of tongues fits itself together in the struggle for existence is almost as complicated as the organic interrelations of the plant species that struggle together in the surrounding jungle. There is, however, in the human interrelations an interesting racial division of labor effected by the natural conditions of competition. This division of labor, which has arisen spontaneously, has produced an organic unity which involves relatively little interracial friction and which comprises an efficient productive machine.

THE WHITE MAN AS LORD OF THE MANOR

The white man is the ruler. He occupies all the important official positions and directs the expenditure of foreign capital and the operation of foreign business establish-

ments. He plays the rôle of feudal lord. He has arbitrary authority over the activities of a large number of Asiatics, and at his impatient call, "Boy," one or more attentive servants rush to his side. Although Europeans constitute less than one per cent of the total population of British Malaya and less than two per cent of the inhabitants of the port cities, nevertheless they have been able to make and enforce rules of behavior which govern the lives of the remaining ninety-eight per cent. The white man, however, does not stand without the pale of competition. The economic struggle determines his occupational and residential distribution just as effectively as that of any of the other racial groups. Wherever the conditions of economic competition militate against him, he has to yield ground to his more successful competitor. Not only is he barred from all manual labor, but gradually he is being forced to yield many of the commercial, clerical, and professional occupations which he usurped in the earlier stages of his invasion. His high standard of living, which necessitates the making of a large margin of profit, handicaps him in the competitive race with Chinese and Indian retail merchants. As the years pass and the Asiatics become better schooled in the white man's system, competition compels the European to withdraw from more and more occupational pursuits. As a result of this increasing efficiency of Asiatic competition, the peak on which the white man may securely reside is gradually becoming narrower and is being reduced to a smaller number of non-competitive occupations such as those connected with government and foreign branch offices. Although Europeans have been on the peninsula for more than a hundred years, their ratio to the total population is now showing a tendency to decrease rather than increase.

THE MALAYS

The Malays are the indigenous inhabitants of the peninsula and at the present time constitute the largest racial group, although the Chinese are rapidly gaining on them in numbers. Like all other indigenous peoples whose territory has been suddenly invaded by foreign industry, the Malays have failed to respond to the opportunity presented by the white man's capital investments to improve their economic condition. They are invariably reported by the Europeans as being lazy, unambitious, and unwilling to work on the rubber plantations for fixed hours and wages. The general truth of these allegations seems to be substantiated by the census returns. In 1921 only 16,000 Malays were enumerated as plantation laborers which was less than one-quarter of the total estate population in British Malaya. In the Federated Malay States, which comprise but a part of British Malaya, only 5,949 peninsula Malays were enumerated on estates in 1921 as compared with 9,191 in 1911. The Malay is facetiously referred to by the Europeans as the gentry of the peninsula. He is largely an independent agriculturist, preferring to work in his own rice paddy or run his own sampan rather than to toil for wages on the estates. When he does condescend to participate in the new economic order, he usually seeks the easier and more stimulating tasks, such as driving automobiles and trucks or serving as postal clerks, conductors or engineers of railroads, with the result that he has practically gained a monopoly of these occupations.

THE INDIAN

The Indian population is of two general racial stocks which are as different from each other in both appearance and behavior as the European is from the Chinese. First,

there is the effeminate, docile Tamil, slight of frame and delicate of feature, who wears his hair tied in a knot on the back of his head and who is bedecked with earrings and a bright calico skirt or girdle. Next, there is the black-bearded Sikh, large, warlike in appearance and masculine.

The Tamil who comes from Southern India, the presidency of Madras, constitutes over ninety per cent of the Indian population of Malay. He is the rubber plantation coolie, imported and cared for by the government. He accepts with cavil the terms of his masters, which are limited to some extent by government control. He works for a few years on the estates and then returns to his home in India. The number of Tamils returning each year is but slightly less than the number arriving in the peninsula. For the past twenty years, a steady stream of Tamil coolies has poured into Malaya from the Presidency of Madras, and almost as great a stream has flowed back into India; the volume of the two currents varying with the price of rubber.

The Sikh, who comes from Northern India, has a monopoly on the guardianship work; he helps to enforce the white man's law and for this reason occupies a higher status than his Tamil compatriot. He is found on police duty everywhere, and he is also the universal watchman. Although his numbers are relatively small, his prominent position as guardian and his stalwart militaristic appearance make him an imposing and conspicuous figure in the eyes of the traveling public.

THE CHINESE

The Chinese are the most aggressive competitors in all occupational lines. It is commonly stated in Malaya that all the millionaires and rickshaw coolies are Chinese. In fact the Chinese are the only complete economic racial

group in the peninsula. Aside from the Malays, most of whom are still living in their primitive village economy, the Chinese are the only racial group that could get along equally well if all the other groups were absent providing, of course, there was a stable government. This, however, is an important proviso because without a government such as the British provide, the Chinese in British Malaya would probably be very much like their fellow countrymen in China. The Chinese are the white man's greatest rivals. They challenge his economic and even his political supremacy. Their industrious habits, frugal methods of living, and astute business capacity make them dangerous competitors in whatever lines they direct their energies. The Chinese have dominated the tin mining industry from the beginning. They have not entered the estate business to the same extent chiefly because they have not as yet developed the corporate form of business organization and rubber plantations pay best on large scale production. In all forms of business and commerce, however, they are rapidly gaining in control. Almost all the important services in the cities and villages are in the hands of Chinese merchants, and most of the skilled trades are dominated by the Chinese as well as the contract form of unskilled labor. Chinese gangs build the roads, clear the jungle for plantations, and do most of the dock work. The Chinese coolie invariably receives almost double the wage paid to any other coolie. While the Indian plantation worker gets from thirty-five cents to forty cents a day, the Chinese refuse to work for less than a dollar.

The Chinese, of course, are not a racial unit any more than the Indians. They fall into several different groups. First, there is the Straits-born Chinese who are quite different from the immigrants from China. The difference is apparent to even the casual observer. The Straits-born

Chinese, as a rule, belong to the white suited clerical or business-man's class. They are better groomed, better fed, and more European in habits and appearance than the Chinese immigrants. Very few of the Straits-born Chinese can speak their mother tongue. They all speak the Malay vernacular and most of them English also. They reside in the cities and towns and seldom fall as low as the domestic servant class in occupational selection.

The Chinese of the peninsula are self-conscious and proud. They are aware of their numerical and commercial importance, and those who are Straits-born are resentful of being denied their rights as British subjects to participate in civil service and other governmental functions so far reserved for the European.

ABNORMAL ASPECTS OF COMMUNAL LIFE

Malaya is an abnormal community in many respects. In the first place, the population is largely composed of migrants who come to the peninsula for a period of two or three years and then return to their native lands. This unsettled population is not only footloose and free from natural constraints of settled communal life, but is also highly abnormal in sex and age composition. There is a preponderance of males over females in every racial group which varies from ten males to one female in the case of the Chinese and to about three to one for the Indians and Europeans. There is, however, in recent years, a tendency toward a more equal proportion of the sexes. Of course, the ratio of the sexes for each racial group varies greatly in different parts of British Malaya. The estate population, which is chiefly Indian, is, under the policy of the government, gradually becoming nearly normal in sex distribution. The 1911 census accorded three Tamil males to every female, but in 1921 the ration was 1.8 to 1. The

Chinese have the most abnormal sex composition of any of the racial groups of the peninsula. In 1921 the ratio of males to females stood twelve to one. Chinese immigration, unlike that from India, is for the most part spontaneous, the only government supervision being with respect to the arrivals in the peninsula. True to their habits of migration to other parts of the world, the Chinese males migrate and leave their wives and families at home.

The age distribution is quite as abnormal as that of sex. In 1911, 923, and in 1921, 889 out of every thousand Chinese were in the age group from 15 to 50, and 734 out of every thousand Indians were in this same group in 1921. That is, from seventy-five to ninety per cent of these two large immigrant groups were adults, mostly males in the prime of life, whereas under normal population conditions, about fifty per cent would fall within this age classification. While this age and sex distribution makes the population more economically productive in proportion to numbers, still it makes for abnormal communal life and aggravates problems of vice and crime. In Malaya, the horde rather than the family is the unit of social organization.

The population under its present composition is not self-replenishing. The death rate until a few years ago was higher than the birth rate. Since 1920, however, the death rate for the Colony has been slightly lower than the birth rate. The death rate remains at least double that of most parts of Europe and America. The crude figures stand at about thirty per thousand for the past five years, despite the fact that a higher percentage of the population falls within the age group in which the death rate is usually lowest. Malaria, tuberculosis, and beri-beri are the three leading causes of death. Venereal disease, while not a leading cause of death, nevertheless is an important cause of disability. In Singapore venereal clinics, there were

treated in 1924, 23,356 patients, about one in seven of the adult male population of the city. The Public Health Commissioner of Penang told me that seventy per cent of the patients in the government hospital were there for venereal treatment.

SPECIALIZATION OF PRODUCTION AND THE PROBLEM OF EQUILIBRIUM

British Malaya is a region of highly specialized production. Its two leading industries, rubber and tin, are produced in large quantities for a world market, while most of the articles of local consumption, including food and clothing, are imported from outside sources. This makes the economic life of the peninsula exceedingly fluctuating. Like all areas of agricultural specialization, Malaya alternates from boom to slump business periods with corresponding seasons of great activity and great depression. The year 1911 was one of unusual depression just following a period of boom. Then for several years, the demand for rubber in America made for unusual activity in the rubber industry in the peninsula, again to be followed by an even greater slump in 1921, succeeded once more by unprecedented high prices in 1925 and 1926. The price of rubber fluctuated from 65 cents per pound gold in New York in 1915 to 17 cents in 1921, 34 cents in 1924, and 91 cents in the beginning of 1926.

Equilibrium is maintained by migration. In this respect the peninsula is parasitic. It draws its labor from India, China, and Java as it needs it and ships back to these countries its surplus population during periods of depression. In 1920, the year before the drop in rubber prices, the number of assisted passages of families immigrating from Southern India was 74,000; in 1921 it

dropped to 14,000. Normally it runs about 40,000. In 1924, it rose again to 62,000, and in 1926 to 87,000.

Malaya is basically a region of production rather than of consumption. The enormous wealth produced there,—the export of rubber alone in 1926 was over \$500,000,000 gold, and for tin about \$200,000 — is consumed in the far ends of the world. The fact that the peninsula is economically dependent upon America and politically controlled by Great Britain further complicates the problem. Of the total rubber exports from British Malaya in 1926, seventy-two per cent went to America. On the other hand, sixty-five per cent of the acreage devoted to rubber plantations at that time was in control of corporations having head offices in Great Britain.

Money flows out of Malaya to pay dividends to European stockholders and even a large part of the money paid in wages is sent directly home to either India or China or saved and taken back with the immigrant upon his return to his native land.

While it is true that the country has been developed by foreign capital, still this capital has been spent almost entirely along productive lines such as clearing, planting, and fitting up the necessary roads and buildings connected with the production of rubber. With the exception of the commercial port cities and a few of the interior provincial capitals, there are no signs of public expenditures such as would inevitably result if a normal proportion of the wealth produced were locally consumed. Taxes are lower in Malaya than in most parts of the world. Land taxes are almost negligible and there are no income taxes of any sort except a small export tax on rubber. There is no attempt to provide free schools for the population apart from the vernacular schools provided for the indigenous Malays. One may ride on the Federated Malay Railway from one

end of the peninsula to the other and, apart from the larger towns in which the European officials reside, see nothing but a series of dilapidated Chinese villages and temporary "lines" constructed on the estates to house the coolies.

But in the larger towns, there is evidence of extravagant consumption on the part of the European population and the wealthier Chinese. The European in this part of the world is usually paid especially well for his services. Even the primary school teacher in government schools starts at a stipend of \$400 (Straits money is about half the value of gold) and is gradually raised to \$800 per month, receiving half pay when proceeding on leave every fourth year. The white man very frankly takes the attitude that this is a place to be exploited for economic gain and not one to develop as a permanent home for himself or his children. His whole policy, therefore, is to spend money in order to make money. When he sees that he requires more clerks for his rubber estates, he spends money on commercial schools; but being of the opinion that European education tends to lead to discontentment with the prevailing conditions, he makes no attempt to introduce a general system of free public schools. He lets the Chinese furnish their own school system from private funds or makes them pay from two to three dollars per month tuition fee for attendance at the Government English schools of which there are a small number in the Colony.

Under the pioneer conditions existing in this region of the world, the European tends to become an unqualified hedonist. His life organization is entirely self-centered and he tends to grow indifferent to the welfare of the Asiatic races that swarm about him (of course there are many splendid exceptions to this tendency). He regards the colored races as his inferiors in every way and as tools to be exploited for his personal gain and pleasure. The

average government official goes to his office about ten in the morning and leaves at three in the afternoon. He usually owns a sumptuous automobile and has one or two chauffeurs to take care of it and drive him around. In his home there is a retinue of from six to ten servants. He has his golf, cricket, and yacht clubs, to which he has recourse in the early morning and again in the afternoon and evenings to drink wine and converse with his friends. He dresses in spotless white, including a white corked topee which gives him the appearance of a military official. Every semblance of physical labor is taboo. He must not make the slightest attempt to wait on himself. To be seen carrying a parcel, washing his car or carrying his golf clubs would immediately imply a loss of status. Manual work in this part of the world was meant for colored hands, but the control is the prerogative of the white man's brains.

Even more indolent and hedonistic than the white male is the white woman of Malaya. Hers is a life of complete leisure and indulgence. She is never seen on the streets in the heat of the day and for this reason does not have the necessity of wearing a topee. Her household is completely managed by servants; her only task being to give orders and to instruct her cook regarding the number of guests expected for dinner. Her children are attended by amahs who cater to their every wish and furnish the most perfect social atmosphere to make them little tyrants and to instill in them a profound sense of their superiority to their Asiatic associates. The women, I am told, rise about nine in the morning, have breakfast, then drive to the club in their limousines to sip wine and gossip with their friends. They return to their homes about one for lunch, then sleep till four in the afternoon and spend the remainder of the time before dinner in bridge games at the club. In the evening, they gather at the clubs with their husbands and

enjoy themselves sipping wine and dancing until midnight. This, to be sure, is not the lot of every woman, but it seems to be the general condition.

The early pioneer conditions of Malaya have passed, that is, the relation in which the hardy white pioneer traveled through the peninsula and lived with the natives in their primitive villages and wrote extensively about their customs and mode of living. Under these conditions a much harder and kindlier attitude developed between the European and the indigenous peoples. But with the coming of large scale industry and an increased number of Europeans, the human relations have undergone a profound change as every pioneer European in Malaya declaims. The new immigrants, both European and Asiatic, are on the peninsula in order to make money as quickly as possible. Consequently, the acquisitive attitude has displaced the attitude of mutual aid as the dominant social relationship. In the present rush for profits, people are considered as commodities rather than as human beings. Whatever social welfare work is introduced springs from the motive of expediency rather than from that of general human interest.

While Malaya is still the dominant center of world production of rubber, nevertheless the region is in keen competition with other rubber producing areas such as Java, Sumatra, Burma, Ceylon, and other less important places. Under this stress of inter-regional competition, where labor is in some instances still controlled by the indenture system, the white managers of foreign corporations are compelled to disregard the human factors of the situation and to order their conduct in such a way as to promote the maximum production at a minimum cost.

This present stage, however, is not likely to continue for long. It represents an early stage of capitalism such as

was in vogue in England during the first half of the nineteenth century when capital was organized but labor was unorganized. It is to be expected that in the coming years, Asiatic labor will follow in the footsteps of western labor and organize to promote its own interests and welfare. Human beings cannot for long, under modern forms of communication, be treated as commodities and chattels to the profit of other human beings. The attitude of individual self-respect is spreading over the world, and it is likely to develop in this new section of Asia even faster than in the older centers of Eastern culture.

CALIFORNIA'S REASONABLE MINIMUM WAGE

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THE INDUSTRIAL WELFARE COMMISSION of the State of California has recently released its Fifth Report covering the biennium 1923-25. This report is of more than passing interest since it presents evidence that minimum wage legislation is effective in spite of the fact that the Supreme Court of the United States has declared such laws unconstitutional.¹ California is not the only state wherein this phenomenon appears but it is one of the outstanding examples. Since the Adkins case of April, 1923, no new wage "orders" have been promulgated in California,² but inspections are being carried on and back pay collected under existing "orders."³ The law is therefore being applied. How the commission can continue to function, when its orders can no longer be legally enforced, is an interesting question.

At no time since the Adkins case have conditions of business been adverse in California. It has been possible to "pass on the costs" to the consumer.⁴ The labor market

¹ Adkins v. Childrens Hospital. 261 U. S. 525. April, 1923.

The Arizona minimum wage law was held unconstitutional in October, 1925. No court has reviewed the California law so it is not technically unconstitutional.

² In July, 1926, orders covering the motion picture industry were issued but they did not cover wages nor apprenticeship regulation. This fact is a tacit admission of uncertain powers.

³ Inspection is more adequate now than in 1921 when the state was laboring under an "economy wave." A disparity between the current report and earlier reports, as to amounts collected, is due to the fact that earlier reports include collections through the Canning Audit. Adding the canning industry, the collections for 1922-24 amount to \$238,000.

⁴ Much of the California product enjoys market advantages.

has not been oversupplied. Public opinion is very apparently in favor of the legislation and no employer wishes to "be the goat" by initiating a case against the Commission.⁵ This consideration has been emphasized by the failure of a fake case brought against the commission and exposed through the newspapers at the time.⁶

Another reason for the continued "enforcement" doubtless lies in the fact that employers throughout the state have developed a kind of unconscious habit of abiding by the "orders" of the commission. Payroll reports are requested by the commission, submitted by the employers, checked by the commission and back pay collected where due — all very much as in former years.⁷ Indeed, many employers seem to be ignorant of any change in the powers of the commission. It should be borne in mind that the commission has other functions than that of setting a minimum wage. These have not been jeopardized by court action.⁸ It is not clear to all employers of women precisely where the powers of the commission are adequate and where they are weak. These are some of the more important reasons why the commission continues to apply the law and to receive appropriations from the State Legislature to do so.⁹ Further analysis, however, brings to light another reason which, arising out of the nature of the wage itself, would appear to be more fundamental.

Critics of the California law have held that inasmuch as the wage is a "living wage" there is no necessary connec-

⁵ The mercantile laundry industries are particularly sensitive to public opinion.

⁶ The case is described in this report.

⁷ The keeping of records, by employers, has also been consistently maintained with but a few isolated exceptions.

⁸ Apprenticeship regulation might possibly be excepted.

⁹ The budget submitted to the 1927 Legislature by Governor Young provided for appropriations as follows: 1925-27, \$75,252; 1927-29, \$86,000. The appropriation granted for 1923-25 was \$86,553. This reflects a certain public confidence in the policy of protection for women in industry.

tion between it and such considerations as those enumerated above. Should the "living wage" fail to correspond to the values of the services of the employee as determined by the market value of the product, such a wage could not be maintained. Granting the premise the conclusion is doubtless correct. It is the conviction of the writer that the premise is wrong. The California minimum wage is not a "living wage" in the technical sense of the term. The California law nominally provides for a living wage. It establishes a commission to ascertain what amount this shall be. It does so by means of budgets. Enforcement is mandatory and is based on the police power of the state. The social jeopardy of indecent and inadequate standards of living on the part of working women is held to be the *raison d'être* of state interference. But the Supreme Court of the United States has decided that such use of the police power is contrary to the Constitution. The law is deprived of its power of enforcement but it is being applied nevertheless.

In theory the protection of women in the matter of wages can be viewed from two widely divergent points of departure. One begins with the assumption that the woman has certain needs. Her labor should net her at least enough to cover her needs. This is a legitimate labor cost which the consumer of the product should bear as a necessary cost of production. Thus starting from the needs of the woman a "living wage" is obtained. The opposing principle starts with the product rather than the producer. A worthless product can produce no wage. A valuable product makes a wage possible and determines in the last analysis what can be paid. The utility of a woman's services depends on the amount of the product attributable to her and the value thereof. Starting thus from the utility of her services a "reasonable wage" is obtained. In theory

these are diametrically opposed. Then too the principle of the living wage, strictly speaking, provides for a minimum but does not provide for compensation in excess of the minimum. It is therefore a single wage. The principle of the reasonable wage, on the contrary, provides for no minimum but rather for a series of wages. It is accordingly a wage scale.

In practise, however, the distinction between the two different sorts of wages is not so clear-cut. The needs of a woman have proven to be an illusive standard. It is not the subsistence wage in the Ricardian sense. It is not the wage without which she will die. It is something more. It is the wage without which she will be unhealthy or immoral; therefore, the appeal to the police power. But many conditions affect health and it is difficult to be specific concerning precisely how much wage will insure morality. Furthermore, a "standard of living" is taken into account and this standard is found to possess considerable elasticity. This elasticity in turn is found to bear a significant relation to numerous considerations other than the necessities of life. Thus when times are "good" and the product of labor highly valued, the standard of living includes comforts and near-luxuries quite unthought of in times less favorable. When once obtained this standard is held with some tenacity, but shrinks, however, under sufficient pressure. The so-called living wage seems to be affected by considerations other than "living" conditions. On the other hand, wages based on the value of the product, i. e., "reasonable" wages, are not set without regard to the health and strength of the producer. Modern efficiency investigations show that value of services cannot be considered apart from living conditions. The laborer is a human being and any adequate theory of wages must take this fact into account. Not only so but a reasonable wage

admits of flexibility in its computation. Many kinds of services go into the production of a given commodity. The value of each service not only depends on the demand for the commodity but also on the supply of the service. One of the conditions of supply is the living of the workers.¹⁰

This overlapping of the two principles of wages is apparent in the California experience. Though created to establish a living wage the Industrial Welfare Commission has of necessity done more. The sections in the law providing for conferences with employers and employees as well as for public hearings, should have signified to the close observer that more considerations than simply those necessary to maintain a woman would find their way into the making of the minimum wage. Budgets were worked out, to be sure, but wages were not set by budgets. Budgets were chosen to explain wages. Wages were set as the result of extended conferences with employers and employees. Employees were seeking a living wage or more. The employers were seeking a reasonable wage or less. That is, each had a limit. The employee must at least make a living. The employer could at most pay what the worker was worth. Budgets were used as the vehicle of these estimates,¹¹ but the element of bargain was scarcely disguised thereby. Endeavoring to strike a happy workable¹² minimum, the commission would draw up a fitting budget and issue its "orders" accordingly.¹³ The minimum wage thus

¹⁰ The supply of labor is emphasized by the living wage. The demand for labor is emphasized by the reasonable wage. In the case of women the supply side may be strengthened by minimum wage legislation, while the demand determines the upper limit to which the minimum may go.

¹¹ According to the requirements of the law.

¹² Even prior to 1923 there was no disposition to use the police power to force a wage upon the industry as a whole, though it was used to force individual employers to conform.

¹³ Public hearings, held before the wage finally went into effect, would make doubly certain that all the bargaining forces would be accounted for.

adopted was very much of a compromise between what a woman needed and what a woman could get. Such a wage might appropriately be called a *Reasonable Minimum*.

The compromise nature of the minimum leads to the suspicion that such a wage would automatically occur as the result of the normal forces of competition involved without the aid of legislation. Is there any need of a commission to "set" a reasonable wage? Reasonable wages look to underlying economic and social forces for their justification, but in the case of women certain forces are often latent or inoperative. It does not follow that if women earn a certain amount they will necessarily receive it. Under a profit-taking system of production it may be that additional forces may be accentuated or even initiated in her behalf.¹⁴

Women are weak bargainers. They tend to be individualistic and are lacking in information and organization necessary to protect them against exploitation. Secrecy with respect to wages on threat of discharge shows how weak her bargaining power can be. Minimum wage legislation tends to produce a feeling of security and independence. The wage bargain for this at or below the minimum is of the nature of a collective bargain.¹⁵ There is an element of unity introduced into an otherwise deranged labor supply. In addition to this the interest of the public is stimulated and certain "standards"¹⁶ become "ac-

¹⁴ Historically, minimum wage legislation was first introduced to meet the evils of the sweated industries in New Zealand.

¹⁵ The effect of collective bargaining is illustrated by the laundry industry. In Los Angeles, where the workers are not organized, they crowd on the minimum level. In San Francisco, where they are organized, the point of greatest frequency is well above the minimum level.

¹⁶ Standards of living are not absolute. One of the factors determining the standard of living of laborers is the productiveness of labor. The problem is not to preserve a standard of living against earnings that they do not justify. The problem is rather to preserve the standard against being depressed below the level justified by the earnings or productiveness of the workers.

cepted." Standards vaguely but powerfully influence the worker and the public. They deter the worker from offering her services too cheaply. They tend to array the public against the employer who dares to disregard them. As consumers the public must be considered by the employer. There is a vital relation between the minimum wage commission and the public. By its agency an otherwise diffuse public opinion becomes crystallized and operative.¹⁷ Such forces may be marshalled to protect woman against wanton depression of her wages. Important as these forces may be, however, they are impotent when the productive capacity of any considerable proportion of the workers falls seriously below the minimum.

Industry¹⁸ cannot pay women in excess of what they produce unless the difference be made up elsewhere, i. e., unless those above the minimum are paid less than they produce. Another alternative is to engage only those who can produce the minimum and so arrange the technique of production as to utilize a large proportion of helpers or apprentices. Failing in these alternatives discharge of workers would seem inevitable.¹⁹ The apparent absence of these results in California indicated that the wage is earned and is thus reasonable. The period 1920-25 shows no extension of apprenticeship. The percentage of learn-

¹⁷ Massachusetts relies on public opinion directly. The names of recalcitrant employers are published. The law is, however, mandatory on the employer with respect to posting the notices of the commission, keeping adequate records and permitting the commission access to them. Cf. 19, *Monthly Labor Review*, 290.

¹⁸ The reference is to industry in general, not to the individual employers. One of the services of minimum wage legislation is to force inefficient employers into line with the rest of the industry.

¹⁹ The suggestion has been made that mass production is another alternative. (16, *Yale Review*, 57.) Employers have also found that increase in wages has often led to increase in efficiency and that much unprofitable competition over available labor supply has been eliminated.

ers in fact decreased from 14.3 in 1920 to 5.8 in 1925.²⁰ Nor has there been a pressure on the minimum line. The percentage of those receiving wages in excess of the minimum increased from 46.4 in 1920 to 63.2 in 1925. The percentage of those receiving the minimum decreased from 22.5 in 1920 to 16.9 in 1925.

FIGURE I

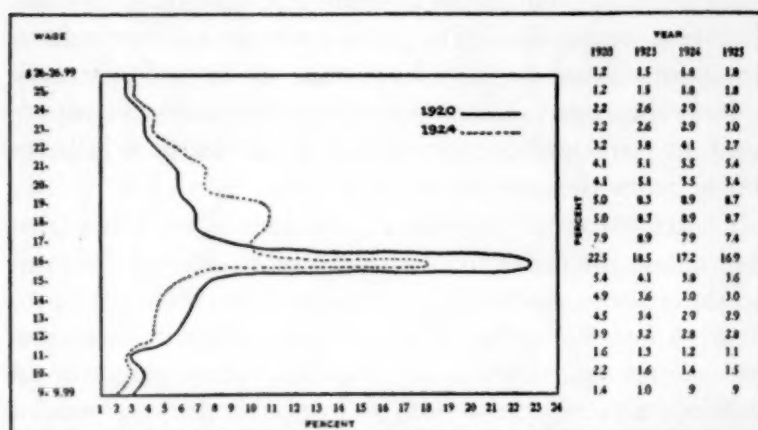


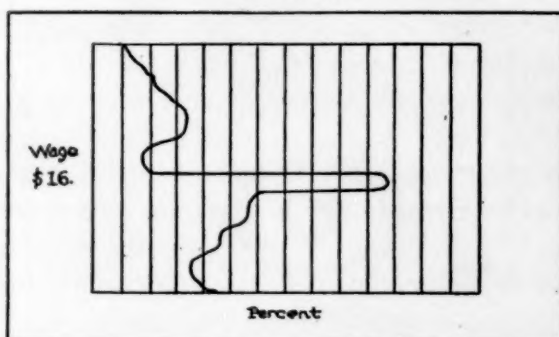
Figure I, compiled from records covering the mercantile, laundry, and manufacturing industries, reveals the situation in California for the period 1920-1925. It will be noticed that the 1920 curve shows no serious depression in the number of workers in the levels immediately above the minimum. If, for example, many of those earning \$17 were forced to accept \$16, the chart would show a relatively small percent in that level as compared with the next level above.

²⁰ In 1920, when the minimum was raised from \$13.50 to \$16.00, the percentage of apprentices allowed was increased from 25 to 33 1-3. This was doubtless a compromise to gain the support of the employers for the new minimum and indicates a willingness to consider the conditions of business. It is difficult to justify so high a percentage on the principle of the living wage. It is a concession to reasonableness—probably too great a concession. It should be noted that this change occurred prior to the Adkins case. The practice of registering sub-standard workers also tends in itself to obviate certain abuses.

The tables above are compiled from records published by the Commission. The Commission adopted a system of unequal wage grouping in their tables which is confusing and misleading. In order to procure percentages for equal wage levels these groups were broken up. An example will make this clear. In 1925 the percentage in the \$18-\$19.99 class was 17.4. When divided, it becomes 8.7 per cent for both the \$18 and the \$19 levels, whereas one should doubtless be actually greater than the other.

Tables of earnings were used rather than tables of rates as being more adequate. For example, when a woman earns a salary and commission, though her earnings due to the commission reach \$100 per week, she may be classed in the \$16 group in the table of rates.

FIGURE II



When it is realized that the application of the minimum wage affects only the wage levels of \$16 and under and that those of \$17 and over are subject to competitive bargaining, it seems clear that the levels above the minimum must be watched to determine whether or not the minimum is unreasonable and is being applied at the expense of the workers in these higher levels. Moreover, when it is realized that the percentages for 1920 were taken soon after the minimum was raised from \$13.50 to \$16, the gradual nature of the recession in the levels above \$16

seems to substantiate the claim that the minimum was reasonable when set. Had the new minimum been unreasonable the employers would have adjusted to it by reducing the percentages above the minimum (where competitive bargaining obtains) when they were forced to raise the percentage at the minimum. The table below shows that when the \$16 minimum was set, the percentages in the levels above \$16 were increased rather than reduced.²¹

TABLE I

<i>Wages</i>	<i>Percentage Just Before</i>	<i>Percentage Just After</i>
\$21-\$21.99	1.9	4.1
20	1.9	4.1
19	3.7	5.0
18	3.7	5.0
17	4.1	7.9
16	4.2	22.5
15	10.8	5.4
14	15.4	4.8
13	11.0	4.8
12	6.6	3.9
11	5.3	1.6
10	6.2	2.2
9-9.99	3.3	1.3

Since 1920 the percentages in the levels above the minimum increased until 1923. In 1924 the increase went on except for the \$17 level which registered weakness. In 1925 the weakness had spread to other levels above \$16. This weakness is not serious in 1925, particularly when the percentage at the minimum continues to recede. But the movement is significant as indicative of the sequence of events. First, the level immediately above the minimum

²¹ This, however, was not true of the higher levels in the manufacturing industry when the \$13.50 wage was set. See also 20, *Monthly Labor Review*, 555.

shows recession, then other levels recede but at a slower rate on the whole, later the percentage at the minimum level may be expected to advance.

Percentages below the minimum have decreased from 1920 to 1925 as indicated by Figure I.²² This corresponds with the decrease in apprentices noted above.²³ Should the tendency towards reducing wages, which began in the \$17 group in 1924 and continued in other groups in 1925, be succeeded by an increase in the percentage receiving the minimum, the next step to be expected would be an increase in percentages in the sub-minimum levels.

A question arises as to how far these tendencies can go before the minimum ceases to be reasonable.²⁴ A precise answer is difficult but must involve three considerations: first, the percentage above the minimum; second, the percentage at the minimum; third, the percentages below the minimum. A thoroughly unreasonable minimum would resemble Figure II. The percentages in the sub-minimum levels would be excessive. Those in the levels immediately above the minimum would be much too small as compared with levels still higher. The percentage actually receiving the minimum does not seem of importance save in relation to the other two factors.

It would appear therefore that indications of unreasonableness occur when there is a tendency to develop a large sub-standard group and when wages immediately above the minimum are received by substantially fewer workers than those receiving rates higher up.²⁵ This shows that industry is trying to protect itself. But this robbing Peter to pay Paul and this increase in apprentices meets increas-

²² The table above also shows such a decrease following the new \$16 minimum.

²³ Part-time workers are also included.

²⁴ In general a reasonable minimum would be one in which the percentage of apprentices were not excessive and in which there was no considerable amount of penalizing the more efficient to offset overpayment to the less efficient who were receiving the minimum.

ing resistance, which ultimately outweighs those forces operating in favor of the minimum. It accordingly becomes ineffective. In such a case the wage should be revised downward. When times are bad it is preferable to accept a somewhat lower standard than to be cast into the chaos of individual bargaining with its needless underbidding and exploitation. Whatever forces may be marshalled on behalf of the worker, which tend to press her wage upward, an effective resistance is encountered as the limits of reasonableness are approached. Indications of such resistance serve as clues for the evaluation of the minimum.

If this interpretation is valid the minimum wage commission becomes a sort of clearing house for the economic and social forces which may be directed towards the protection of women in industry. One of its chief functions should be to study these forces in order to ascertain as nearly as possible the standard of comfort which they may be made to support. These forces, in the light of which the wage is set, may be relied upon to impel compliance therewith. If carefully set and revised when the underlying conditions warrant revision, a *Reasonable Minimum* might be expected to function even in the absence of police power to enforce it.

²⁵ The canning industry, to which the law has been applied differently than to the mercantile, laundry, and manufacturing industries, seems to be badly adjusted to the \$16 minimum, as the following table of percentages for 1925 shows:

<i>Wage</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Wage</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Wage</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Wage</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Wage</i>	<i>%</i>
Under \$5.00	15.8	\$ 9.00	4.4	\$14.00	6.0	\$19.00	3.8	\$24.00	1.1
\$5.00	3.3	\$10.00	4.9	\$15.00	6.6	\$20.00	2.0	\$25.00	.5
\$6.00	3.2	\$11.00	4.9	\$16.00	8.2	\$21.00	2.0	\$26.00	.4
\$7.00	3.7	\$12.00	6.2	\$17.00	4.0	\$22.00	1.8	\$27.00	.4
\$8.00	4.3	\$13.00	6.1	\$18.00	3.8	\$23.00	1.2	\$28.00+	1.4

It will be seen that 22.2% received more than the minimum, 8.2% received the minimum, and 69.6% received less than the minimum. The disproportion is partly due to a considerable amount of part-time work, which is a characteristic of the canning industry. This, however, fails to justify the large sub-minimum percentages. One of two conclusions therefore seems inevitable. Either the forces, marshalled on behalf of the women in the other industries referred to above, do not function in the canning industry, or the \$16 minimum is too high for the canning industry. If the latter should prove to be true it would furnish an argument for applying different minimum wages to different industries.

COURT INTERPRETATION OF FEDERAL IMMIGRATION LEGISLATION

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IN 1875 the Supreme Court of the United States swept away the theory of state regulation of immigration as well as the existing head-tax laws, and opened the way for federal legislation when it said, "We are of the opinion that this whole subject has been confided to Congress by the Constitution; and that Congress can more appropriately and with more acceptance exercise it than any other group or body known to our law, either state or national."¹ But the federal enactments following were not to go without question, and no sooner did the federal government undertake immigration legislation than the laws enacted were forced to run the gauntlet of court review to establish the rights of Congress in this more or less new field of activity.

THE RIGHT TO REGULATE

It would seem that there could be no question as to the right of a sovereign government in controlling the admission of people into its territory, but this was one of the first issues to come before the courts. The answer of the Supreme Court of the United States was, "It is an accepted maxim of International Law that every sovereign nation has the power, as inherent as sovereignty itself, and as essential to self preservation, to forbid the entrance of foreigners within its domains, or to admit them only in such

¹Henderson et al. v. City of New York et al., 92 U. S. 259.

cases and upon such conditions as it may see fit to prescribe."² Only a short time afterward the court re-affirmed the same principle as follows: "The right to exclude or to expel aliens, or any class of aliens, absolutely or on conditions, in war or in peace, is an inherent and an inalienable right of every sovereign state."³

LEGISLATIVE VS. TREATY POWER IN IMMIGRATION

A rather unusual question involving the relative weight of Congressional enactments contrary to treaty obligations and duties arising under existing treaties was soon before the courts for decision.

Chae Chan Ping, a subject of the Emperor of China, had resided in the United States from 1875 to 1887. In 1887 he left for China, having first secured the certificate then required by law for his return to the United States. Upon his return in 1888 he was denied the right to enter because of an act of our Congress, then only recently approved, which annulled his certificate and took away his right to return.⁴ In the argument of the case it was claimed that this Chinaman had entered the country under rights secured by the Burlingame treaty with China and had, therefore, a vested right to return which could not be denied by Congress by legislative enactment.⁵

The court in rendering its decision cited a previous case, "So far as the treaty made by the United States can become the subject of judicial cognizance by the courts of this country, it is subject to such acts as Congress may pass to enforce it, or modify it, or to repeal it."⁶ The certificate of re-entry had been issued under the provisions of the act of July 5, 1884, but this gave to the holder no

² *Nishimura Ekiu v. U. S.*, 142 U. S. 651.

³ *Fong Yue Tong v. U. S.*, 149 U. S. 696.

⁴ 25 Stat. L., ch. 1094, p. 504.

⁵ *Chae Chan Ping v. U. S.*, argument, 130 U. S. 581.

⁶ *Whitney v. Robertson*, 124 U. S. 190.

rights of return to the United States of which subsequent acts of Congress could not deprive him. This gave the legislative branch of our government still more control over immigration for, by this case, treaties on immigration needing legislative enactment to enforce their provisions are, in fact, subject to modification by Congress when, in its judgment, changing needs make modifications necessary.

THE RIGHT TO DEPORT

Having established the right of Congress to regulate or even prohibit the entrance of aliens, the next question to be reviewed in the courts was that of the right of our federal government to expel or deport certain of those already in the United States. Once more the Supreme Court stood firmly upon the principle of sovereign rights. The decision was conclusive and final in its language: "The right of a nation to expel or deport foreigners who have not become naturalized, or who have not taken steps toward becoming citizens, rests on the same grounds, and is as absolute and unqualified as the right to prohibit or prevent their entry."⁷ Quoting Wharton's *International Law Digest*, page 206, the court continues, "The government of a (sovereign) state has always the right to compel foreigners in its territory to go away. The foreigner is not a part of the nation; his reception is a matter of tolerance, and of pure permission, and creates no obligation upon the government."⁸

In the decision of a very similar case handed down with the same opinion as that of *Fong Yue Ting* the same attitude was expressed as follows: "Under the police power the government of the United States has a right to expel at any time aliens who have not taken steps toward be-

⁷ *Fong Yue Ting v. U. S.*, 149 U. S. 698.

⁸ *Ibid.*

coming citizens."⁹ It would seem that the courts have given conclusive decisions upon the right to deport.

THE FEDERAL HEAD TAX LAWS

In 1875 the federal courts held the state head-tax laws of New York, Louisiana, and California to be unconstitutional, for they were regulations of commerce in violation of the commerce clause of the federal constitution.¹⁰ As soon as the federal government began to enact head-tax legislation its validity was immediately challenged, but this time the issue was the misuse of the power to tax. In the case brought before the court it was claimed that such a tax was not uniform as provided in the Constitution. The court held, "The contribution levied by the government upon a ship owner by this statute is designed to mitigate the evils incident to immigration from abroad, by raising a fund for that purpose; and it is not in the sense of the Constitution a tax, subject to the limitations imposed by that instrument upon the general taxing power of Congress."¹¹ A very interesting interpretation of the phrase "uniform tax" was given in this decision, as follows: "A tax is uniform within the meaning of the Constitution when it operates with the same effect in all places where subject for it is found," and "a tax is not wanting in such uniformity because the thing to be taxed is not equally distributed in all parts of the United States."¹²

The head-tax which had been held as unconstitutional when laid by a state, was upheld when enacted by the federal government in its immigration laws based upon commerce regulation.

⁹ *Lee Joe v. U. S.*, 149 U. S. 698.

¹⁰ *Henderson et al. v. City of New York et al.*, 92 U. S. 259.

¹¹ *Edye v. Robertson*, 112 U. S. 580.

¹² *Ibid.*

THE CONTRACT LABOR LAWS

In 1885, the first contract labor law was passed because it had become a practice of capitalists in America to contract through agencies abroad for the securing and shipping of certain numbers of common laborers into the United States. The contract usually called for: (a) the advancing of passage money, (b) the agreement to work for the one advancing the money, at a very low wage, until (c) the passage money and the "incidentals" had been fully repaid.¹³ Labor in America declared that this practice was breaking down the standards of American labor, and that it was reducing wages to the level of that customary in the countries from which these aliens came. The Knights of Labor appealed to Congress and the result was the Contract Labor Law. This law was soon sustained in the courts and, upon appeal, was decided in the Supreme Court with the opinion that, when the government "is given the right to exclude it has without doubt the right to make that exclusion effective by the provision of penalties punishing those assisting in introducing, or attempting to introduce aliens in violation of its prohibitions."¹⁴

One technicality which developed in the testing of the contract labor laws involved the status of professional men coming to America in response to an offer of a position. In the case tried to test this phase of the law, an alien, a citizen of England, had been called to a pastorate of a church in the United States, but had been kept from landing by the immigration officials under the contract labor laws. The officers claimed that the call to the pastorate of this church was a contract to labor and as such would prevent the landing of the man on trial. The court considered that the wording of the law was too general and inclusive; but that, since the intent had been to exclude

¹³ Summary of extract on Contract Labor; Ruling, Case Law, volume I., pp. 845-846.

¹⁴ *Lees v. U. S.*, 150 U. S. 476.

unskilled laborers, the case at hand would not fall under its provisions, and the minister could not be denied the right to enter on the grounds of contract labor.¹⁵

As a result of this case, when the immigration laws were next modified and were codified the exact and implicit exception was made in the contract labor sections to exempt members of all recognized professions from the operation of the contract labor provisions.

ALIEN ANARCHISTS

A much more recent test of the rights and the powers of the legislative and executive departments came after the enactment of the law of 1903, which gave the executive department the power to expel alien anarchists.¹⁶ One Turner, by name, had been in the United States for a period of six years and had been employed as a clerk. He had been known to make speeches of a radical nature, and to have defended publicly such things as the murder of police officers by anarchists. Upon his arrest and examination, the board had been unanimous in its decision that he was an alien anarchist within the meaning of the law and was one who was in the United States contrary to law, and was therefore subject to deportation.

In this case it was argued that the alien anarchist law "discriminated against disbelief," and had the same effect as abridging the freedom of speech. It was also presented that the federal government had not been given control by the Constitution over "alien friends" with reference to their admission, their belief, or the beliefs of citizens or sojourners, or over the absolute freedom of the press. The Supreme Court held, however, that "An anarchist is one who believes in or advocates the overthrow of the government of the United States or any and all government. . . .

¹⁵ *Church of the Holy Trinity v. U. S.*, 143 U. S. 457.

¹⁶ 32 Stat. L., Pt. I, p. 176.

and, as long as human governments endure they cannot be denied the right of self preservation."¹⁷ So once more the Supreme Court took its stand upon sovereign powers and preservation of government at all costs.

POWERS OF EXECUTIVE OFFICERS

The constitutionality of the executive process set up to perform the duties of examination and exclusion, a process involving acts of almost judicial nature, had to be settled by court review. In answer to a case contending that aliens could be excluded only by judicial process the court said, "The power of Congress to expel, like the power to exclude aliens, or any special class of aliens, from the country may be exercised entirely through the executive officials; or, if Congress sees fit, it may call to the aid of the executive the judiciary to ascertain any contested facts upon which the alien's right to remain may depend."¹⁸ In a later case the court gave a still more clear and inclusive decision when it said, "The right to exclude or expel aliens is vested in the political department of the government and is a right with which the judicial department can have nothing to do except as authorized by Congress."¹⁹

The decisions of the port inspector or his assistants upon the subject of entry or exclusion are not subject to review in the courts.²⁰ This includes decisions involving whether or not an alien is "likely to become a public charge,"²¹ and decisions upon the operation of the contract laws.²² The immigration law gives the port officers the power to decide matters involving "alien immigrants."

¹⁷ *Turner v. Williams*, 194 U. S. 279.

¹⁸ *Fong Yue Ting v. U. S.*, 149 U. S. 698.

¹⁹ *U. S. v. Ngum Tun May*, 153 Fed. 209.

²⁰ *Nishimura Ekiu v. U. S.*, 142 U. S. 651.

²¹ *In re Day*, 27 Fed. 678.

²² *In re Cummings*, 32 Fed. 175.

But in the case of a dispute over citizenship, upon which the right to enter will depend, the resort must be to the courts, for such a decision involves judicial matters and our relationship to our citizens, and is subject to court determination.²³ Decisions of port officials concerning permission to land shall not be interfered with by the courts except in the case of disputed citizenship. A person may be permitted to land for examination, or even for detention, and this shall not be considered "admission to the country." A permit to land may not mean "a permit to enter the country and to remain there."²⁴

It would seem that the policy of the courts has been to give to the executive department as much of the power of determining, in the case of immigration matters, as can consistently be given to that department. Only in the case of disputed citizenship, or the case of constitutionality of the law itself will the courts entertain a case the basis of which is the questioning of the right of the port officials to interpret and apply the immigration laws. In the case of the power of the legislative department, the courts have been conclusive and practically unanimous in the stand that the entire power over the admission, residence, exclusion, or expulsion of aliens is entirely within the field of Congressional enactment even when such enactments seem to infringe upon long established treaty rights. The basis of such decisions has almost universally been the right of sovereignty and the welfare and protection of the nation.

²³ *In re Panzara* (D. C.), 51 Fed. 275.

²⁴ *U. S. v. Chugg See* (D. C.), 71 Fed. 277.

THE CZECHOSLOVAKIAN POPULATION OF OMAHA

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THE CITY of Omaha, known as the "Gateway City of the West," has a large foreign-born population. More than 18 per cent, or one person to every six, came here from some other country. This being the case, we may well consider their characteristics and the kind of citizens they are making. This article deals with a study of a very interesting immigrant group, namely, the Czechoslovakians. In this article the terms "Czech" and "Bohemian" will be applied in reference to the people. Since the war, Bohemia, Moravia, Slovakia and Carpathia, and a part of Silesia have been formed into the Czecho-Slovak Republic. To say that a Bohemian is a Czecho-Slovak is misleading, for the Slovaks belong to another branch of Slavs. Moravians and Bohemians however, are practically the same, and it is these two branches of the Slavs that constitute the Czechoslovakian or Bohemian population here, which constitutes 2.3 per cent of Omaha's population, or the largest foreign-born group.

As a rule the Czechoslovakian people are very industrious, thrifty, family loving, well educated, reserved, hospitable, and have a keen sense of humor. Most of them converse in other languages besides their own. One laborer told us that he could speak seven languages. He said they were required to learn German and many learn English and the languages of the surrounding countries

also. We found their homes well kept and comfortably furnished. More than seventy-five per cent own their homes, and rapidly become naturalized American citizens. Of the crimes committed, .42 of 1 per cent are Czechs, which is very low. They also rank the lowest in illiteracy.

The first Czechs came to Omaha as early as 1857. By 1876 less than one hundred families were here. They are no longer found so completely segregated as in the early days, but as a result of education, business, and social interests, they are largely absorbed into the general life of the city. They not only rank high in patriotism but they are leaders in all lines of activities. Many of them are prominent professional and educational leaders; consequently they make a very desirable class of immigrants.

There are three distinct groups of Czechs now in Omaha. These are the Protestant, Roman Catholic, and Free Thinkers. The Roman Catholics claim a large number of the Czechs, and the Protestants claim a substantial minority. Outside the churchfold is the very interesting group known as the Free Thinkers or Liberals. Czechs are no exception to the rule, for a large majority stand at either extreme — Catholicism or Liberalism. These groups are not interested in the activities of each other. In fact, their attitude toward each other is very nonchalant. But within each group, unity, harmony, loyalty, and enthusiasm exist. We find these three groups living side by side in close harmony.

It is interesting to note that the Czechoslovakians are very loyal to their mother country, as well as to America. The interviews revealed this very obviously on every side. Yet they want us to understand that they are true, loyal American citizens. The first who came here established small schools where their native language was taught their children on Saturdays and occasionally on Sundays and

during summer vacations. The children went not too willingly, for they did not have enthusiasm for their language as did their parents. These schools were often supported by local lodges and were non-Catholic. They wanted their children to take advantage of the American schools, so there was no conflict. In fact, it was co-operative, for before the war Czech was taught in some of the Omaha public schools which were located in Czech districts. In the Czech Catholic schools the language is taught as a part of their regular curriculum. All these efforts have failed to meet with any notable success, the second generation being largely more American than Bohemian or Czech.

The social life of the Czech in Omaha emanates from church activities and their own clubs, lodges, and balls. The Protestant and Catholic activities are closer to the church. The Liberals or Free Thinkers are organized mainly through their reading matter, clubs, lodges, and community balls, but their teachings are not aimed against religious views. They form over 60 per cent of the population. The Catholic Sokol is the leading social organization of the Catholics. "Sokol" signifies a "Falcon," the hunting and sporting hawk which is symbolical of swiftness, activity, and freedom. The Sokol is primarily an athletic organization. They hold local, state, and national gymnastic exhibitions and sponsor many kinds of activities such as bazaars, carnivals, theatricals, dances, and entertainments. The present Catholic Sokol Hall was purchased in 1907 and is the mecca of social and cultural life of the Catholic Bohemian or Czechs in the city.

The old motto of the Sokol, founded in Bohemia in 1862, was to "train the body and the mind to freedom." The object is therefore dual. The society has grown and prospered and its influence has been felt in the affairs of Omaha Czechs. Being comprised largely of the young

men and women, it stands for virility, energy and enthusiasm, as well as for democracy and patriotism.

Omaha is headquarters for the Czecho-Slovak consulate of the Middle West. Many social and economic problems, though numerous and varied, are constantly brought before this body which is headed by the consul. He is editor of the Omaha section of a Chicago weekly newspaper published in the Czechoslovakian language.

The Czechs are more fully organized than any other nationality. Besides the great Sokol order, many societies that are of both social and industrial nature, are sponsored. No one can doubt that the great characteristic of the countrymen of Smetana and Dvorak is their noble gift for music. Music and dramatic clubs are numerous. Dancing plays a great part in the social life of the Czechs. There are twenty-four Bohemian and Czech lodges in the city entirely independent of any church affiliation, but they hold no teachings that are aimed against any faith.

THE UNITY OF THE SOCIAL GROUP

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GROUP UNITY emerges in a process of interaction that integrates isolated experiences into a common excitement, mood, objective, a communicable tradition, a collective judgment, or a basis of agreement. In this process psychological distances are overcome in varying degrees depending upon the nature of differences in temperament, background of experience, and mobility in the given social situation.

Unity in the animal group rests almost completely on the basis of biological adaptations rendered active for the moment by communicable excitement in the herd, pack, flock, colony or hive. Each unity fulfills the function or functions natural to its structure. In the colony or the hive the group seems much more an organism than a unity of individual organisms.

Unity in a human group has an element in common with the animal group — the biological adaptations of the impulses of the individual organisms. But these impulses are much more plastic in the human being than in the animal and are at once overlaid by a social structure mediated by language symbols. Language makes possible the pooling of isolated experiences and gives them a symbolic embodiment. Practically it is as if human experience became super-organic, transmissible from generation to generation by mechanisms peculiar to itself. Group unity varies with typical human groups and within these types.

THE UNITY OF THE PSYCHOLOGICAL CROWD

Most elementary of all these typical social unities is the "psychological crowd" discussed by Le Bon. The process of interaction is initiated by some incident that excites the individual sentiments. The first forms of crowd behavior are random and spasmodic movements or sounds which act and react on each other to heighten the excitement. Gradually the modes of action and expression assume a more rhythmic trend and the content of a common mood is organized. This latter represents the direction and focus of attention and the completeness of the unity is indicated by the extent of *rapport*. Where the *rapport* is complete there is an immediate responsiveness to the slightest movements. The unity of behavior is made more complete with the appearance of the leader spontaneously selected by virtue of his greater sensitivity to the trend of group tension. Through the mechanism of leadership group objectives are attained and the energies of the group are expended or released and it resolves into its original elements. Should the social situation that occasioned group unity become recurrent a sect or party is the outcome. The following case, in which social unrest focused about the camp sutler, presents concretely the unification of the party or crowd in attack:

I caught a confused wave of sound, shouting interspersed with shrill whistles — hundreds of men were packed about the sutler's shack. He stood in the doorway, pale but imperturbable, his eyes glaring fiercely. The crowd was keeping its distance as the word had passed from the front that the sutler had his finger on the trigger of a six-shooter. We were after fun, not shooting, and it was enough to hurl imprecations after him. When Buck and I arrived the spirit of the crowd was good-humored for the most part, but occasionally one could perceive a note of real hatred. What seemed a deliberate competition in imprecation got in motion and the more violent curses

gained rapidly over the milder ones. The character of the clamor split into two well-defined currents of deep notes and high that would occasionally reinforce each other and make one thrill unaccountably. The crowd was pressing closer. The sutler kept his head but his movements were becoming spasmodic. It was still fun with us but the idea that it was serious was vividly gaining upon the sutler — and then a new baying note rose from the mob, a note I had not supposed to be within range of the human voice. I shivered as I glanced at the sutler, darting his eyes from one quarter to another in suppressed panic; I felt my pity slip from me and I began to exult. "Kill the thief," the crowd was yelling. It thrilled! . . . a sharp pebble hurled from behind struck him just below the cheek bone and drew a jet of blood. A mantle of frenzy fell upon the mob, and an atrocious roar arose, carrying on its waves all the obscenities and blasphemies known to Young America. . . . The mob surged forward: all around me men wedged between converging lines of force were crying out that they were being crushed. . . . The sutler had darted into the shack, and it began to rock on its foundations before the surge of the mob — "Fix bayonets!" — "The regulars!" — We ran.¹

The sutler became a collective representation of the coalesced experiences of the crowd and he was the focus of its attack. In the tense climactic moment the *rapport* was so complete that each was spontaneously responsive to the slightest movement of his neighbor. At such a time the psychic distances are all but overcome and solidarity is supreme.

UNITY IN THE GANG

The gang is differentiated from the crowd in the previous description by the existence of a body of tradition and sentiment and the mobility of the individual person. The gang with few exceptions is of a single sex and its members are of approximately the same age. Within the boys' gang, experiences readily communicable interpen-

¹ Alvin Johnson, "Short Change," *New Republic*, Vol. 14, p. 381 f.

trate, and the members come under the unity of a common experience. This process of unity is furthered by the fact that the gang thrives in what Thrasher calls an "interstitial region,"² i. e., a region of amorphous and disintegrating structure. Thus the form and content of group objectives depend upon whim, chance, and the vagrant goals of an unconventional environment. Here codes are very fluid and readily coalesce into new types of unified action. Furthermore, the pressure of hostile groups and persons with which it is in conflict is the dominant external stimulus to the gang's unification.

In comparison with the psychological crowd the social distances between persons, extending downward from the leader (or leaders) by degrees to the fringers on the outskirts, are maintained and constitute the ground pattern of the group's unity. About this basic pattern the informal codes and common objectives of its corporate behavior are integrated. The unity of the gang developed in connection with the dynamic impulses of human nature in a volatile social environment shows a greater plasticity than any other group involving a continuity of structure. This makes it highly adjustable in new situations and this feature is enhanced by the manner of numerical extension and revival: membership comes from different racial and family backgrounds, even from different neighborhoods as a result of family migration.

A favorite rendezvous of the gang was a large sandpile near the railroad track. Here they had great fun camping, flipping freights, and pestering railroad detectives. Most of them were "bumming away from home," sleeping under sidewalks or in the prairies. They had little difficulty in swiping food; the milk and bread wagons were a source of abundant provisions . . . they took autos and went joy-riding . . . most of them were habitual truants, and they acknowl-

² *The Gang*, p. 22.

edged their commitments to the parental school with great pride . . . leadership shifted with changing circumstances — the best fighter was usually in command.

A high degree of loyalty was developed within the gang and its members repeatedly refused to peach on each other in the courts. They stuck together in most of their exploits, for their enemies were many and dangerous. . . . Their chief animosity was directed against the Aberdeens, a rival gang that "was always punching our kids." They were forced to defend their sandpile on the tracks against this gang and several others. . . . They formed an alliance with half a dozen gangs for mutual aid and protection. . . . The store-keepers of the vicinity were indignant at their rudeness and thievery, and the neighbors regarded them as an awful nuisance. With so many hostile forces, this gang became well organized and acquired considerable solidarity.³

THE UNITY OF THE FAMILY GROUP

Biological adaptations are more apparent in the unity of the family than in any other social group. First, there is the sex division of male and female with the accompanying sex appetite. Secondly, with the advent of children, there are the divisions of age, denoting on one hand the strength and stability of adult life and on the other the dependence and plasticity of childhood. Thirdly, there is the group of impulses involved in the attitude of sensitivity to the presence and behavior of other persons. The interdependence of these biological factors gives to this group the semblance of an organism. This organic pattern is soon overlaid and modified by the social experiences of its members. Through the subtle forms of interaction the experiences of the mature dominate and coalesce with those of the immature and compose the habits, sentiments, attitudes, social ritual and traditions of the family group. Within the limits set by nature and the exigencies of social structure, distances between the members are established

³ Thrasher, *The Gang*, document 18, p. 62 f.

resulting in a social group pattern determining and in part determined by common aims that focus its activities and control its members. In no group except in the collective excitement of the crowd and the volatile gang, may distances between members be so completely overcome and concerted effort so powerfully focused. Distances are often increased and unity threatened by the divergence of temperaments, but it is in a particular type of social situation that temperamental differences threaten family dissolution.

The unity of the family, then, is related to the social ecological nature of the community and the mobility of its members. In the relative isolation of the rural community, with its intimate neighborliness, family unity is greatest. The *dramatis personae* so completely penetrate each other's rôles that all experiences tend to become common to all the members. But even here distances are maintained and it is only in the pathological situations, where the mobility is reduced to a minimum and emotional dependence is raised to a maximum, that the members live, as it were, off each other's breath. Such a condition narrows the frontage of adjustment to new social situations, and the members of the family show symptoms of emotional strain. Group unity is so intense that the behavior tendencies are under the domination of a small fixed cycle of sentiments with no release from their narrow inhibitions.

The solidarity of the neighborhood life in which the rural family is socially integrated is all but non-existent in the typical mobile urban neighborhood. The swift changes in the use cycle of many of these neighborhoods, and the migrations to, within, and away from them, disintegrate neighborhood sentiment. This dissolution of neighborly ties removes a dynamic factor from family unity. Neighbors become too indifferent to notice, let alone praise or

blame family behavior. An increase in mobility is inevitable with the growing specialization of the areas of home-life, work, and play. Some types of work take the adult members of the family away from their homes for extended periods of time, but in most families their work takes them away from home entirely during the day and in all likelihood to different sections of the city. Similarly their recreational life is likely to be different in the form and in the place of its satisfaction. Thus, in the daily round of their lives the members of the family receive an accentuation of their temperamental differences through their variant contacts. This individuation may be so intensified that it is accommodated with great difficulty within the family circle. The factors which have thus individualized its membership have shorn the family of much of its solidarity of sentiment and have placed it partially on an interest basis. Consequently, a control of a more rational type has come in to supplement the primary one. In the face of impending family disorganization the social technologist from the court of domestic relations or from other administrative agencies is called in to bring about concerted action in meeting family crises. Much advisory and administrative machinery is being employed in urban centers which signifies a shift in family control.

THE INTEREST GROUP

In the interest group biological adaptations enter much less into group unity than in the preceding groups and chiefly in the rôle they play in communication. Organic appetites and impulses are there but they are widely separated from their objectives by a system of means which are formulated through deliberate planning. Social distances are rationalized and become a pattern in a formal structure. The person with the most knowledge and tech-

nical skill occupies the premier position. The wheat-growing group of the western prairies of Canada may be considered an interest group. Wheat growers are distributed in a region of rapid growth due largely to population increment from other sections of Canada and from other countries. As in other communities of newcomers, social detachment, strangeness, and impersonality are clearly characteristic. Furthermore, physical distances are relatively great. In consequence, concerted action has grown up primarily about wheat growing and the dominant action patterns are the techniques for producing and selling wheat. These have been standardized by the agricultural departments, colleges, and leaders of the co-operatives, and are communicated very largely through the pioneer newspapers in the languages of the producers. Technical leadership is the dominant type and the unity of the group is on the basis of interest rather than sentiment. The wheat growers have become very efficient in expressing their wants and in perfecting organization to satisfy them. Whatever there is of group sentiment and the consciousness of a cause have developed about their fundamental interest in wheat.

THE UNITY OF THE COMMITTEE

The roots of the deliberative committee lie in the divergent group backgrounds which give variant experiences and ideas to its constituent members. In social situations characterized by high mobility, conflicting standards are imported into the family circle and call for a family council to discover if possible a basis of agreement. The seeds of this council go far back in human history. In the interest group deliberate planning with respect to means and ends is the central characteristic. Thus in the committee is exhibited a close-up of the critical process in a

social group existing primarily for deliberation. Two contrasted social poles are represented in this process of unity through deliberation; the committee members share a common universe of discourse in which words, phrases, and principles are mutually understood; but in addition to this common ground of meanings they agree to disagree and they represent in varying degrees opposing ideas and interests. Through the process of discussion within the accepted rules of procedure, issues emerge, eventually reveal a trend of agreement and come to rest in a representative statement. This is a collective decision of the group and signifies a unity of minds and wills. Much the same process of integration takes place between the members of the committee as that experienced by the individual in organizing his conflict attitudes, when making an individual decision. Social distances play a rôle in the deliberation of the committee: opinions of the participants have weight not only in proportion to their merits but also in respect to the social position and prestige of the participants. It is also true that there are changes in position due to the preparedness and the newly-discovered abilities of certain committee members. Thus a ground pattern of social distance plays a rôle in the unity of the deliberative group. It is only in regard to highly abstract issues, far removed from practical utility that social distances are lost beneath an uncompromising statement of fact. Group unity has herein been presented in a series beginning with a unity determined by biological adaptations and ending with a unity in terms of an abstract symbol.

RESTRICTION OF MEXICAN IMMIGRATION

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"HAVE we locked the front door, but left the side door open?" is a question frequently asked about our immigration situation today. Since the Act of 1924 entries from Europe have been limited, but no quantitative restriction applies to those who cross the line from Mexico. The number in the latter group is not small, as the accompanying table shows.

MEXICAN IMMIGRANT ALIENS ADMITTED

1917	16,438	1922	18,246
1918	17,602	1923	62,709
1919	28,844	1924	87,648
1920	51,042	1925	32,964
1921	29,603	1926	42,638

Subsequent to the Immigration Act of 1924, a visa passport fee of ten dollars has been charged to each Mexican immigrant entering the United States. That may have been one factor in causing a decrease in the 1925 and 1926 entries from the high point of 87,648 in 1924. Yet it is worth noting that the Mexicans admitted last year comprised fourteen per cent of the total immigrant aliens admitted. The stream is large. "Shall we restrict it?" is a clamant question. But the problem is as complex as it is clamant. Let us glance briefly at some of the factors involved.

There is first the factor of economic demand. The call of our industries and agriculture, "Come over and help us," is the basic reason for the Mexican's coming. He is

the much sought-after "cheap" labor, easily available and reasonably efficient. On the railroads, in the cotton fields, among the orange, lemon, and walnut groves, for the sugar beets and grapes, in construction work, and often in general agriculture, he is considered the *sine qua non* of successful production. Says Dr. George P. Clements of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce: "If the Mexican laborer but knew it, he holds California agriculture in the hollow of his hand."

The Box bill, introduced into the last Congress, proposed to apply to Mexican immigration the two per cent quota now limiting European entries. This would reduce the annual total of entries to approximately 1,500. The proposal called forth a multitude of protesting voices. They came not only from the Southwest, from California and Texas, but also from the Dakotas and Colorado, from Michigan and Montana, from Nebraska, Iowa and Minnesota. They proclaimed that such restriction would mean ruin for their industries. "We cannot get along without the Mexican," ran their earnest chorus.

Some attention is also demanded by the factor of geography. We Americans have come out to the Southwest, taken this land off Mexico's hands and sat down upon it. To the south, on the other side of the Rio Grande, sits Mexico. Neither of us is likely to move. And between us there lies no ocean, no real natural boundary, but a "Border," 1,800 miles long, at best only a shallow stream, and for a large part of its extension, an imaginary line across the desert, as immaterial as a mirage.

Oriental immigration we have found we could exclude. That was possible, for the Pacific Ocean is a fact. But no ocean obligingly rolls between us and Mexico. Can we erect on this "Border" a Chinese wall, to bar out the man next door? Immigration officials tell us that with our present relatively mild restrictions, as many Mexicans in

all probability enter illegally as legally. We face then the question, Is it wise to add further restrictions, when we cannot enforce those now on the books? Can further restriction be enforced if legislated? With cheap labor in Mexico and keen economic hunger for that labor on this side of the line, we may ask to what extent more stringent limitation can be a reality.

A third factor to be remembered is the social cost to our American communities of the Mexican immigrant. Social workers are almost a unit in testifying that of sick, dependents, delinquents and criminals the Mexican furnishes a number quite out of proportion to the relative size of his group. The results of a study instituted by the California Conference of Social Workers in the spring of 1925 have been widely quoted. The Mexican population of Los Angeles at that time was at the most liberal estimate not more than ten per cent of the total. Yet twenty-eight to forty per cent of the charity cases applying to the city's agencies were Mexican. In the General Hospital the Mexican cases ran higher than forty per cent.

Of course, we cannot relieve ourselves by laying all the blame for this situation at the Mexican's door. Unskilled labor, whatever its race or nationality, because of its precarious and unstable economic position, always furnishes more than its proportionate share of dependents on community agencies. How much of the responsibility of this social cost rests on the Mexican himself, how much on our existing economic system with its insistent demand for seasonal and migratory labor, we cannot now determine. But the fact remains that the Mexican laborer costs our agencies heavily. If the present rate of immigration continues, will this load increase?

We may also ask: Is it fair to the Mexican now in the United States to permit the continuance of a large flow of his compatriots to this country? Said the Los Angeles

County Department of Charities, Outdoor Relief Division, in a recent report: "Our problem is becoming so great with the Mexican family who will never become good efficient citizens, that it is impossible to work out a constructive program for the Mexican family who might become an asset to the community." The Welfare and Relief Bureau of Riverside offered this testimony: "We have a number of settlements in our county, located at Beaumont, Banning, Corona, and Riverside, all of which are of the better class of Mexicans, who work yearly in our orchards and gardens. We note that our greatest troubles in said settlements always take place when the transients come into camp for the period of the season. Furthermore, our resident Mexicans dread their coming and now realize they bring sickness and disease to them." Is the new arrival from Mexico serving to hold down the wages and the general social position of his brother of longer residence in this country?

The factor of our social and national unity also calls for notice. It is often said that one-half of the population of Mexico is pure Indian and at least another forty per cent is of mixed blood. No one really knows, for with existing census methods, accurate figures are not obtainable. But in any case, it involves little risk to say that the Mexican laborer who comes to us is largely and in many cases wholly Indian in blood.

He need not apologize for his race, and he does not; it has had a mysterious and romantic history, and he may well be proud of it. Yet the fact remains (whatever its implications) that his is a different race from the dominant strains which now people the United States. In the thinking of modern students, racial origin is considered of relatively minor importance. But in the mind of the man of the street, race difference still provides too often a basis for distrust, aversion, and prejudice, with their resultant

social strain. Race to him implies increased "social distance." At this juncture we may ask if the continuance of Mexican immigration means the creation of another racial problem with which our democracy must wrestle.

Finally, the factor of international relations must not be forgotten. Mexico stands before us as the representative of that "other America" which stretches away southward to Cape Horn, and with which we are destined to live on this hemisphere. If we are to live as true neighbors, friendship and understanding must be basic in our relations.

If we may trust the word of her rulers, her employers, and her labor leaders, Mexico is favorable toward the limitation of emigration to the United States. However, she does desire that no restriction, however effected, shall imply any invidious discrimination against her nationals. It is worth noting, also, that without the co-operation of Mexico, any effective enforcement of immigration limitation would require the enlargement of the present Border Patrol to a small army. But with the co-operation of Mexico, if the flow of emigrants can be watched on the railroad lines within her borders, the task on this side of the line will be notably lightened.

Our own social welfare and social unity seem to call for restriction, but geography and economics point to its difficulty and possible cost. International relations suggest the practical value of courtesy and fairness in whatever action we take.

(Note: A hopeful factor which has just entered the situation is the authorization by the Rockefeller Foundation of a study of the Mexican in the United States, to be conducted by Dr. Manuel Gamio, the distinguished Mexican anthropologist, and Professor Taylor of the University of California. Let us hope that the authoritative facts, so sorely needed in the past and which this study promises to furnish, will be available in time to mold public policy in any approach to this problem.)

STATIC SOCIAL DISTANCE

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IMPORTANT and common as are changes in social distance, static social distance phenomena are also significant and common. Here are vast areas of social inertia. In a test case of persons who were invited to record all the more favorable and the less favorable changes in their attitudes that had occurred in the last ten years toward forty enumerated races, a total of 480 changes were noted out of a possible 4,290 changes, or 8.9 per cent. After allowing for changes that were not important enough to have made a lasting impression or that were not reported, there still remains a large percentage of unchanged attitudes.

Life history and personal interview materials show that these relatively permanent or static attitudes are: (1) markedly unfavorable; (2) neutral; and (3) markedly favorable. The first and the third are each of such a pronounced or radical character that ordinarily nothing can shake them. They are based on emotionally patterned reactions. The second is different. It is usually due to lack of information or to information that is general and somewhat equally divided — for and against.

A more detailed analysis brings out seven types of static social distance situations: (1) that due to an overwhelming fear and hatred of a dominant race; (2) that due to a consuming disgust for "low" types of culture traits; (3) that due to a sense of dynamic loyalty to one's own race and to an overmastering superiority complex; (4) that due to an absence of knowledge; (5) that due to general knowledge about evenly divided pro and con; (6) that due to a

brotherhood-of-man cosmopolitanism and idealism; and (7 that due to a rationalized philosophy of judging all races on a basis of personal worth rather than of racial heredity.

1. Well established fear-hatred behavior patterns are primary factors preventing change of attitudes. Fear arising out of a real or seeming attack upon one's social groups, operates in the case of the Armenian's consistently adverse reactions toward Turks, or of the Polish Jew reactions toward the Poles. An Armenian, for instance, says that "we are century-long enemies of the Turks. Their oppressions have always been unbearable. I never see one even in Christian America but that I shudder from head to foot and start to run." The permanency of such an attitude is easily understood. A Polish Jew reports that his grandfather taught him to hate the Poles. He asserts: "I cannot forget the brutal murder of my father. I have always hated them (the Poles) with an undying hatred and I don't see how it can ever change, not until memory grows dim." The permanent element in this expression is evident.

Hatred naturally follows fear. A race that is thought of as "bloodthirsty" is hated as a matter of course. Fear-hatred patterns are tenacious; they are ingrained feeling complexes and coupled with rationalized particularizations against whole races.

(1) One does not hear the German situation talked over any more. I wonder if people all feel an unforgivable attitude toward them and try to cover it up or whether my animosity is of such an unusual depth that I can't seem to forgive or forget the stories I heard of the Germans during the War. Since peace has been restored many of the stories have been discredited, but still my first reaction to the word Germany is one of hatred. I will be very much interested to follow this attitude of mine in the next few years to see if it will change.

2. Unsanitary living, animal-like breeding, "coarse" appearance, and so forth, repeatedly displayed by members of any race pave the way for a continuing disgust for such a race on the part of all but racially sympathetic people. No particular fear or hatred is experienced, but an overwhelming disgust. Portuguese immigrants of the illiterate type are referred to as "filthy," as "living like pigs," as "breeding like rats." "They live on a lower plane than ordinary human beings, and there is no hope for them." The custom prevalent among the men of certain undeveloped Slavic peoples of beating their wives, gives race antipathy toward Slavs a relatively permanent aspect. A mental caste attitude develops. Organic feelings of repulsiveness coupled with no favorable experiences frequently account for static social distance.

3. A strong sense of race loyalty and kinship holds many persons steadfast in their favorable attitudes toward certain races, irrespective of how guilty various members of the given races may be of despicable deeds. "I am English," says one person, "and have always admired the Canadians. They are English anyway. They are a part of my own racial family." A loyal son of Erin boldly declares: "The Irish is my own race and of course I have always liked them and always shall."

An overmastering superiority complex leads many persons into stable superiority attitudes toward less fortunate races. Pitying reactions and a certain friendliness are characteristic of this type of static social distance. A patronage complex becomes rooted in taboo and convention. The wish for recognition is also satisfied, providing the "inferior races" make obeisance at the proper times. As long as status is not invaded, friendliness within certain limits is ordinarily expressed toward the lower caste race.

4. Absence of social contacts and lack of racial experiences give many people attitudes of permanent aloofness from races that they do not understand. No new racial

experiences, either direct or derivative, bring no changes. "I have known members of the race (Serbo-Croatian), and do not have any personal acquaintance with it. My feelings are neutral."

(2) No members of the race in question have ever crossed my path (Syrians). I am neither favorable or unfavorable to them — just do not know them, that's all. I have never had any experience with the group and so have not changed in one way or another so far as I know.

5. General knowledge favorable and unfavorable creates a neutral attitude. Status is not invaded. Emotional reactions have not been aroused. No occasion has yet arisen whereby definite action one way or the other has been stimulated. The knowledge in hand is of a non-personal non-competitive nature. "I don't know what I do think about the Dalmatians," says one American. "I understand that they have a fine physique and good vitality, but on the other hand they are reported to be backward culturally. They are 'humanity in the rough,' and I suppose can be refined. I am reserving my judgment until I know more about them."

6. A brotherhood-of-man cosmopolitanism is often the foundation of a stable race friendliness. Friendly feelings arising out of a long series of favorable experiences with certain races become crystallized into permanent attitudes of race friendliness. Religious idealism may also account for the even tenor of general racial good will that many persons manifest. An oppression complex often brings a deeply "human sympathy. Being a member of a physician's family, I early discovered that pain and sorrow are no respecter of persons or color."

(3) The Indians are a racial group toward which I have always had a friendly feeling. I think this is due to my early contact with them. About six miles from my home town there was an Indian reservation. We always had an Indian woman come to our house to do the washing. My mother could speak Spanish and the Indian could also; so they often had a visit back and forth. We gave them

things to take home with them besides their wages, bought their baskets, and they in return would often bring us presents of pasoli or meat.

In the summer time Indian families would come and camp at our ranch while they worked, harvesting the apricots and almonds. I used to watch them cooking and eating. They always seemed to have such a good time visiting with each other.

Once we had an Indian family come in from the desert to work for us. They had had little contact with the whites. They came the first two years with pack horses and riding horses for the father and oldest boys. The mother and younger children walked. The third year they appeared with a wagon and all rode. They were getting educated. This particular family used to buy cloth and bring it to my mother to make dresses for the mother and the oldest girl. I believe another reason I felt an interest in the Indians was because my mother's people were among those who crossed the plains arriving here in 1853. They were among the first settlers in the San Gorgonio Pass.

7. A rationalized philosophy of life that judges people on the basis of personal worth and social achievement rather than on racial connections guarantees stable race attitudes. This tendency leads one to seek racial understanding through the study of facts and of their deeply human meanings. A training in anthropology and ethnology that has led one to live with many races and to understand their history, their struggles, and their shortcomings, is important.

If there be different degrees of changelessness in social distance the first two (negatives) and the third (positive) of the total of seven, are least likely to be modified seriously. The first two are "fixed" in adverse and defensive emotional patterns organized about the wish for security; the third is a form of ethnocentrism "fixed" in dogmatic beliefs centering about the wish for recognition. The fourth and fifth types are the most open-minded of all and most likely to have their stability upset. The sixth and seventh have vulnerable spots that are most easily reached by a series of experiences that would undermine status.

Book Notes

CHILD GUIDANCE. By SMILEY BLANTON and MARGARET G. BLANTON. The Century Company, New York, 1927, pp. xviii+301.

This is a contribution from the field of psychiatry to the problem of parental guidance ("educating mama," as the newspapers have it). Working on the assumption that much personal maladjustment grows out of habits established in childhood, the authors have collected much evidence to show the need for proper mental hygiene from earliest infancy. While frequent appeal is made to well-known facts in biology, psychology, and sociology, the treatment is, on the whole, common-sense rather than theoretical. The authors attempt at once to allay the fears of over-anxious parents and to arouse indifferent ones to action. The program, however, which they outline for parents may well appall conscientious parents since it presupposes considerable reorganization of the adult world, both within and without the home. Unfortunately, rearing children is one of the serious problems which parents face. Indeed, the need for child guidance has arisen largely because of the growing strain which modern life places upon the home. It is probably too much to hope that even the most rational admonitions to parents can do more than ameliorate some of the worst aspects of family life, pending the attack upon those communal conditions which are making family life increasingly difficult.

E. F. Y.

THE GREEN RISING. By W. B. BIZZELL. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1926, pp. x+269.

Following Chesterton's usage of "the green rising" as an appellation for the agrarian revolution, President Bizzell traces historically the farmers' unrest and struggle for status in Europe, Mexico, but chiefly in the United States. Quoting the statement that the farmers in this country are not yet a class, but only a crowd, and that the farmer still votes for tariffs that rob him, the author foresees a day when the former will be able "to equalize his opportunities by securing legislation as favorable to him as it has been, and is, to other classes of our citizenship." Fundamentally conservative, the farmer's attempts to secure justice and to appease his outraged sense of injustice, do not constitute a sinister social adjustment. They will not cease until the silent forces of readjustment in our national life have achieved an equilibrium.

E. S. B.

THE MISSOURI CRIME SURVEY. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1926, pp. xxvi+587.

The Missouri Crime Survey is a valuable work for all students of criminology and should have a place in all public and college libraries throughout the country. It represents a laudable attempt on the part of leading public-spirited citizens of Missouri to make a self analysis of its effort to deal with crime. As stated in the foreword: "The survey sought for the facts, favorable and unfavorable alike, and they are all presented here in line with the principle that the basis of progress is to know the truth."

An honest attempt is made to face some of the unsatisfactory conditions in the Missouri Penitentiary,—the institution about which Kate O'Hare wrote her startling book *In Prison*, in which she revealed almost incredible conditions.

In this spirit of frankness it points out on page 530: "Elaborate statistics have been compiled for the General Assembly showing purchases and sales in the Industrial Department, but statistics and records which would indicate the nature of the correctional problem presented by prisoners committed and which would give an index to the value of the real product of the institution, i. e., the success of the institution in reforming criminals have not been compiled."

The book is divided into eleven parts as follows: The Metropolitan Police Systems; The Sheriff and the Coroner; Preparation and Presentation of the State's Case; Judicial Administration; Bail Bonds; Ten Years of Supreme Court Decisions; A Statistical Interpretation of the Criminal Process; Necessary Changes in Criminal Procedure; Record Systems; Mental Disorder, Crime and the Law; Pardons, Paroles, and Commutation.

C. R. J.

SOCIAL GROUPS. By H. WARREN BROWN. The Faithorn Company, Chicago, 1927, pp. 169.

In this survey of the concept of social groups under such captions as contact, homogeneity, structure, interaction of elements, the keynote is indicated in the foreword by A. W. Small, who refers to it not as presenting original discovery but as varying and amplifying elementary expressions of fact about the realities, forms, and functions of social groups.

MY KEY OF LIFE. By HELEN KELLER. Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York, 1926, pp. 61.

This brochure which is a revised reprint of an earlier booklet on optimism, contains Miss Keller's creed of life, and is a remarkable study in personality achievement.

THIS BELIEVING WORLD: A Simple Account of the Great Religions of Mankind. By LEWIS BROWNE. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1926, pp. 347.

Clearly written in popular, narrative style, and decorated with numerous illustrations designed by the author in the spirit and style of Van Loon, this attractive volume is a good example of the grave danger that imperils popular education in the present flood of books designed to entertain and instruct (?) the masses with pre-digested and sugar-coated anthropology and culture history. Much of it is positively vicious in its effect, such as that which bolsters up the Nordic superiority-complex and instills a patronizing contempt for "colored" races. In still another vein it propagates a crude Darwinian philosophy or that bizarre mixture of fair genetics and half-baked social philosophy which parades under the name "eugenics." In the present volume it enters the domain of religion with promise of equally dubious results.

Mr. Browne's chapter headings are very taking and his historical account of the religion of India, for example, is not only readable but admirably informative. Indeed, this kind of historical and literary re-statement seems to be his strongest note. His weakest performance falls precisely in that field most vital to readers of this *JOURNAL*, namely, that of anthropology and the sociology of religion. As for the latter, it represents a field so new and unexplored that nothing need be said except that the book under review seems to make even no incidental contribution.

As for the anthropological side, the author's point of approach seems to be primarily that of the philosophy of religion, and his reliance, even in that questionable domain, is upon the older authorities. In his two opening chapters, on the origins of magic and religion, his failure to utilize later researches is even more evident. His explanation of magic is frankly the largely discredited and associationist theories of Frazer and Tylor. His account of primitive religion is nothing else than a popular restatement of Spencer's "ghost-theory." All the recent and highly illuminating work of Marett, Durkheim, Lévy-Bruhl, Boas, Lowie, and Malinowski has produced no discernible effect on his interpretations. The result is that his discussion of religion and magic and their mutual relations places in the hands of the unequipped reader a very inadequate and even misleading account which he will naturally accept as scientifically authoritative. Thus, by means of this popularized, pseudo-science movement referred to, we see a new set of errors given a fresh

lease on life at the very time when they are being set aside by the advance of science in that field.

In justice to our author it should be noted that at the opening of Book Two he admits that "the story of how religion began has been made unconscionably short and simple in the book just closed." He points out that space permitted only "an outline of the central plot, a hurried sketch of the main line of march of religion as it advanced through prehistoric centuries." The present writer's stricture is not, however, against the brevity of the sketch, but the fact that the plot itself is falsely conceived, or at least so one-sided as to amount to the same thing. Still, if the reader will only take notice, the result may not be so misleading after all, for he goes on to say, "Unhappily, that outline reads as though given with complete assurance. Despite all the 'perhappses' and 'probablys' scattered throughout the story, it still reads as though the writer knew for certain just what happened. Actually he knows nothing of the sort. All he knows is what many learned anthropologists, after much painstaking research, have *surmised* to be the truth" (p. 59). Now the later anthropologists have a new surmise—and the poor reader will not get the latest after all!

C. M. C.

DELINQUENTS AND CRIMINALS, THEIR MAKING AND UNMAKING. By WILLIAM HEALY and AUGUSTA F. BRONNER. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1926, pp. viii+317.

After studying statistically the effectiveness of the present methods of treatment of delinquents and criminals, the authors conclude that failure is the chief result. The size of the family seems to hold no particular relation to the delinquency of its members. Wealth and social position give special opportunities for covering up delinquencies. There is "no type of personality, no physical or mental condition, no social situation or causation, that alone does not show some successes as well as failures."

Why are we relatively incapable of lessening delinquency and crime? The authors answer that "material advantage with us is valued more than the promotion among our citizenship of right conduct trends and the development of better personalities." These conclusions were drawn from a study of three groups of offenders in Chicago and two in Boston. Statistical methods were used; conservative conclusions were made. The findings appear to be sound; they are especially significant in indicating that American interest lies more in material gain than in building character. E. S. B.

FAMILY LIFE IN RUSSIA. By ELAINE ELNETT. Columbia University Press, New York, 1926, pp. x+151.

The author shows great familiarity with many phases of Russian political and family life. She shows how the political state affected the form of family life among the various classes of Russian society. The demands of the government "for exacting blind obedience from their subjects" was transferred to the father, the patriarch and priest of the family, who demanded obedience and respect from his small state, the household. The adoption of Western culture by Peter the Great did not alter family life to any great extent and only produced the inevitable results of an imposed and misfit culture. Russia acquired the growth of a mixed European culture without the roots of its gradual development.

The method of study is rather unique: In the first chapter we get *glimpses* of the family traditions, ceremonials, and rituals connected with family life of the pre-Petrine period. The second chapter depicts in considerable detail the family life of the nobility, the officials and the court of the post-Petrine period; considerable stress is laid upon the newly emerged modern emancipated woman and the "kursista" (woman student) and her position in the family and social life of modern Russia. The last chapter, "The Proverbs," shows the research ability of the author. She wisely concludes that the proverbs present a good approach to the study of old peasant life in Europe. The proverbs are the accumulated wisdom and the veritable philosophy of life of the peasant. The author has a wealth of characteristic proverbs, which are admirably linked together in one descriptive chapter. The study of the various classes of Russian society, each represented only in one particular period, exhibits a missing link in the historico-sociological method which is concerned with the *effects* of social processes rather than with a chain of more or less isolated events.

On the whole, the author presents a scholarly piece of work. The title does not fit the three separate chapters, but rather the introduction and conclusion. The book is written from a decidedly feminine point of view, and shows little familiarity with the "nobler phases" of Russian family life.

There is no reference to the authoritative volumes by James Mavor, *An Economic History of Russia*, who treats of family life as an integral part of Russian religious, political, social, and economic development. There is no index, and the references to and bibliography of Russian literature are not translated into English.

P. V. Y.

AMERICAN LABOR AND DEMOCRACY. By WILLIAM ENGLISH WALLING. Harper and Brothers, New York, 1926, Vol. I, pp. ix+233; Vol. II, pp. 183.

Mr. Walling's close contact with the late Samuel Gompers as friend, co-operator, and collaborator, makes his discussion of organized labor one of much importance. American democracy has been an outstanding cause of American organized labor according to the author, and his chief point of attack lies in his discussion of political and governmental relations with organized labor. The early accomplishments of labor with respect to legislation are reviewed, and labor's present position is clearly outlined. Says Mr. Walling: "The demands of American labor in the last decade constitute an American and democratic program looking toward a gradual reconstruction of our economic society and its transformation into an industrial and social democracy." There can be little doubt, possibly, that with the growth of the nation as an industrial unit, economic organizations will come to demand greater recognition in the functioning of government. But the following statement, "If it is said, for example, that the West and the South should have equal representation, along with other sections in any federal body affecting agriculture, the answer is that sections should not be represented but cotton and wheat and corn, fruit and cattle and hogs," is not well chosen nor does it follow that any great improvement would result from the change. Indeed, there is a positive danger in the fusing of the economic functions with the political so long as the other values of life are neglected. The book may be indicative of this new policy for American labor, but it is to be seriously doubted as to whether or not the rank and file of labor are as yet aware of it. The book is very well written and ought to be read widely. M. J. V.

SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT. By ROBERT C. DEXTER. Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., New York, 1927, pp. xii+424.

Teachers of introductory social science courses dealing with social problems and social work will find this volume very useful as a survey of the entire field of social work. It is well written and well organized from the student point of view. The author has succeeded in transferring the emphasis from maladjustment to consideration of policies and methods leading to adjustment. E. F. Y.

HOSPITAL LAW. By JOHN A. LAPP and DOROTHY KETCHAM. The Bruce Publishing Company, Milwaukee, 1926, pp. xxxiv+557.

An indispensable volume in dealing with the legal aspects of hospital management.

THE WORKER LOOKS AT GOVERNMENT. By ARTHUR W. CALHOUN. International Publishers, New York, 1927, pp. 176.

Professor Calhoun has developed the material in this book during the presentation, at Brookwood Labor College, of courses treating on the significant relationships of American government to industrial workers. Primarily intended to prepare the workers for effective participation in a Labor Party of the future, the book serves its purpose well by critically examining the nature and various functions of the American government. Some of the observations and judgments will be particularly disturbing to conservatives and so-called "one hundred per centers" and there is a mark of iconoclasm etching itself on many of the pages; in fact, the book will hardly achieve great popularity outside of labor circles and true friends of the workers. It does merit discussion and criticism because some of the author's analyses are made with true penetrating insight into conditions that ought to be corrected. These are conditions that are possibly to injure the present order more than are the antagonistic outside influences, for it must be remembered that the Bourbon is quite as dangerous as the radical. One of the best chapters is the last, entitled "The Control of Political Behavior." This is in the nature of an admonition to the workers and their leaders, and such advice as the following is presented: ". . . one of the prime concerns of workers' education will certainly be the development of psychological devices for sensitizing the workers' minds and making them quickly and accurately responsive to economic changes and the adjustments that they require." The book is remarkably challenging in its thought.

M. J. V.

ABSTRACTS OF THESES. Volume II. Humanistic Series. University of Chicago Press, 1926, pp. xi+504.

This volume is not merely interesting as a record of the work submitted by candidates in Languages and the Social Sciences, but is of real value for reference in those portions devoted to somewhat extended abstracts of certain theses. This applies particularly to the valuable briefs, of about seven pages each, on *The Sociology of Hotel Life*, by Norman S. Hayner; on *Race Prejudice*, by Erle Fiske Young; on *The Rural Community*, by Dwight Sanderson; and *The Origin of the Survey Movement*, by Raleigh Webster Stone.

C. M. C.

MAN AND SOCIETY. By G. M. JANES. The Collegiate Press, 1927, pp. 105.

Social ethics and betterment is the main theme.

HISTORY OF SOCIALIST THOUGHT. By HARRY W. LAIDLER.
Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York, 1927, pp. xxii+713.

This is a finely conceived volume which undertakes to analyze and differentiate the principal tenets of the important schools of socialism, and which vividly portrays some of the outstanding personalities related to the socialistic movements. From the social prophets, Amos and Isaiah, to the present; from Marxian socialism to the post-war Russian experiment, the writer has shown a discriminatory selection which makes his work in the nature of a distinct contribution for those interested in research in socialistic thought. Dr. Laidler, who is one of the executive directors of the League for Industrial Democracy, an organization which aims to promote "education for a new social order based on production for use and not for profit," has accomplished much for this end because his selected material will be sure to challenge the best thought of his readers. Socialism and its thought in the United States today is far from being well understood, and agreeing with the author, "the socialist philosophy has not as yet been crystallized into an important movement of the masses." And yet, we who are urging preparedness can hardly afford to ignore the possible potentialities of the philosophy. The comprehensive analysis given should prove to be of inestimable value for the enlightenment of those who will be the leaders of tomorrow. The discussion of the Russian Soviet movement is very well presented, as is the sketching of the consumer's co-operative movement in the various countries of the world. The book is fortunately not written in an argumentative style, but it does present rather forcibly for thoughtful consideration the many-sided socialistic philosophies. The book is also happily furnished with illustrations of Marx, Webb, Shaw, Lenin, Kautsky and other personalities who have espoused the principles of socialism. This is truly a book for the intelligent reader.

M. J. V.

ABSTRACTS OF THESES. Vol. III, 1924-25. Humanistic Studies. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1927, pp. x+431.

Six abstracts of theses from the Department of Sociology and Anthropology and one from the Graduate School of Social Service Administration are found in this volume of sixty-three abstracts. Evolution of social consciousness, industrial morale, and family disorganization are among the more important topics treated.

MY APPRENTICESHIP. By BEATRICE WEBB. Longmans, Green and Company, New York, 1926, pp. xii+442.

This is one of those rare autobiographies which is at the same time an important source document for sociology. It gives a natural history account of the growth of a personality whose achievements are known and rated high on both sides of the Atlantic. It is valuable as source materials for the study of attitudes, of leadership, of human welfare activities. It is a socio-mental autobiography full of insight.

Not the least significant of the original features of this document is the light thrown on the personal life and character of Herbert Spencer. Another feature of note is the brief analysis offered concerning "how to interview," and "the art of note-taking." The way in which the account is built out of diary notes demonstrates the usefulness of keeping a diary, not simply by eminent people but also by any person whose life is characterized by unique experiences.

E. S. B.

DISABLED PERSONS: Their Education and Rehabilitation. By OSCAR M. SULLIVAN and KENNETH O. SNORTUM. The Century Company, New York, 1926, pp. xiv+610.

This work is chiefly of interest to social workers. It deals systematically with every aspect of the problem of the physically handicapped—policy, technique of education, and rehabilitation and administrative procedure. The sociologist will be interested in the light it frequently throws on the changes in personality which accompany loss of bodily function. It is well illustrated and contains the usual text-book questions and references.

E. F. Y.

THE YOUTH MOVEMENT IN CHINA. By TSI C. WANG. New Republic, Inc., New York, 1927, pp. xv+245.

Showing a keen insight into the backgrounds of the Youth Movement in China, the author gives a clear description of the revolt against militarism and Christianity, and compares the uprising with the Youth Movement in Germany. A movement, started in 1915, cradled in the National University of Peking, using the vernacular, is now past its spectacular stage and is spreading its influence far and wide.

EARS AND THE MAN. By ANNETTA W. PECK, ESTELLE E. SAMUELSON, and ANN LEHMAN. F. A. Davis, Philadelphia, 1926, pp. 217.

A study of social isolation brought about by sensory defect.

PROBATION AND DELINQUENCY. By EDWIN J. COOLEY. Catholic Charities of the Archdiocese of New York, 1927, pp. xv+544.

The author has given a careful description of the Catholic Probation Bureau in New York City, a thorough-going defense of the probation system, a helpful insight regarding the behavior problems of youth, and an extensive bibliography covering several related fields. The case-study method has been followed, and a number of studies are described at some length for illustrative purposes.

E. S. B.

WOMAN'S DILEMMA. By ALICE BEAL PARSONS. Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York, 1926, pp. vii+311.

Discusses (1) the mental or physical differences between the sexes which will actually make it necessary for them to perform different functions in society, and (2) the influence of economic independence upon women and the effect upon the home if the mother seeks outside employment.

OCCUPATIONS FOR WOMEN. Edited by O. L. Hatcher. Southern Women's Educational Alliance, Richmond, 1927, pp. xxxviii+527.

Descriptions are given of the opportunities, salaries, entrance requirements, for women who desire positions in the professions. Specific data are submitted for only two cities (Richmond, Virginia, and Atlanta, Georgia).

MY OWN STORY. By FREMONT OLDER. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1926, pp. xx+340.

Valuable case materials are found herein for the study of personality mutation, the rôle of public opinion, social responsibility for crime, graft in public and social life, misery in the underworld, and the struggle of a man to become tolerant of the intolerant.

E. S. B.

SOZIOLOGIE UND STAATSTHEORIE. By HARRY ELMER BARNES. Qunsbruck, Germany, translated by Rose Hilferding, 1927, pp. xxxix+231.

A thirty-two page history of American sociology, written in the form of a summary by Gottfried Salomon, makes an appropriate introduction to this translation into German.

AN EXPERIMENTAL STUDY OF CHILDREN. By HELEN T. WOOLEY. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1926, pp. xv+762.

Full of statistical materials on physical measurements, mental measurements, mental and physical growth, physical and mental sex differences, the relationships between these factors, work-records and family and home conditions.

MIND AND PERSONALITY. By WILLIAM BROWN, M. D. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1927, pp. x+356.

With a psychological and philosophical approach the author discusses personality from many points of view, including McDougall's approach, the Freudian analysis, and his own experiences as a practising psychotherapist.

AMERICAN VILLAGERS. By C. LUTHER FRY. George H. Doran Company, New York, 1926.

A demographic study using standard statistical methods, conducted under the auspices of the Institute of Social and Religious Research.

THE AO NAGAS. By J. P. MILLS. Macmillan and Company, London, 1926, pp. xviii+500.

A careful and exhaustive study showing the changes which have taken place and which are going on because of the contacts of the Ao Nagas made with the Government, the Mission, and with neighboring tribes.

SOCIAL FACTORS IN MEDICAL PROGRESS. By B. J. STERN. Columbia University, New York, 1927, pp. 136.

Treats of cultural change as it occurs in the medical field and of the psychological and sociological factors retarding the diffusion of innovations in medical practice.

KARL MARX AND FREIDRICH ENGELS. By D. RIAZONOV. International Publishers, New York, 1927, pp. 224.

Treats the theories of Marx and Engels in relation to their personal lives and their environmental setting.

SHOULD WE BE VACCINATED? By BERNHARD J. STERN. Harper and Brothers, New York, 1927, pp. 146.

A study in social control.

Periodical Notes

John the Common Weal: I. The Complaint against the Times. A greater emphasis should be placed in American Universities upon the study of contemporary society. Our American civilization, especially, finds no counterpart in other civilizations. If its tendencies, peculiarities, and problems are to be noted and met, the student must be made aware of them and his loyalty to public service stimulated. The social sciences are in a strategic position to accomplish this. Henry Noble McCracken, *Social Forces*, March, 1927, pp. 359-69.

Are the Filipinos Ready for Independence? Mr. Thompson, special representative of President Coolidge, believes that the Filipinos are not yet ready for complete independence. They are unable financially to assume the heavy responsibilities of an independent nation; eight different languages separate them as a people and religious feuds between the Christian and Mohammedan population are sources of serious civil strife. He recommends political and economic reforms of a progressive nature which will definitely prepare the Filipinos for the heavy responsibilities of independence. Carmi A. Thompson, *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, May, 1927, pp. 1-8.

Breasting the Crime Wave. Several distinct developments in relation to the problem of crime are the general awakening of the American bar and its proposed reforms of the whole body of criminal law and criminal procedure, and the formation of city, state, and recently a National Crime Commission, all attempting in varied ways to study and interpret crime conditions. So far, no recognition has been given the criminological principle of individualization of treatment. Punishment—not understanding and correction—has been the aim. Because of the great minds enlisted in this national movement it is hoped that reforms based on criminal science will result. George W. Kirchwey, *The Survey*, April 15, 1927, pp. 69-71.

Souspilstvo (Society), III-IV, Edited by M. Chapoval. Ukrainian Institute of Sociology, Praha, Tchechoslovakia, 1926, pp. 184 (in Ukrainian).

A sociological magazine appearing several times a year, and put out by a group of Ukrainian scholars, refugees from Russia. By appearances and by contents this is a scholarly publication. Contains articles, book notes, reviews. Each article, even a review, is often a genuine dissertation, with painstaking footnotes and quotations.

Severity of Punishment as a Deterrent of Crime. Desire on the part of the individual to abide by the law is the only deterrent of crime. Of the two major groups of criminals—the psychological and the professional—severity of punishment is most practically effective on the professional criminal. The penalty must make the crime economically unprofitable, must be consistently administered, and must be made known in order to gain the maximum psychological effect. Victor Kellick, *Journal of Delinquency*, March, 1927, pp. 39-45.

Whither Social Work? Social work today is characterized by its closer alliance with social work departments of universities, greater emphasis upon statistical study, and clearer and more courageous interpretation to the public of facts gathered. The *method* of social work is applicable and valuable to the solution of world problems. The conception of the family as an integrated group of mutually dependent free personalities, if extended to international relations, is infinite in possibilities. Arthur Evans Wood, *The Survey*, April 15, 1927, pp. 74-5.

Socio-Psychological Status of Children from Marginal Families. Although intellectually inferior, a study of these eighty-three children proved them to be equal, if not superior to the general run of children in emotional and behavioristic development. It would seem that work among such children is socially justified in that it tends to preserve stock which is desirable despite unfavorable environmental circumstances and prevents the formation of anti-social reactions which might otherwise develop. Phyllis Blanchard and Richard Paynter, *The Family*, March, 1927, pp. 3-10.

International Notes

IN GERMANY the wife of General Ludendorff has suggested that German Nationalists disown Christianity and return to the old German gods. The suggestion bears the implication that Christianity and Nationalism have little in common, and that the international note in Christianity is repugnant to Nationalism.

WAR OUTLAWRY gains a point in the message from Minister Briand that France would willingly subscribe to the outlawry of war between France and the United States. The proposal as revealed in the treaty form prepared by Professor James Shotwell of Columbia provides for some sort of conciliation or arbitration for every dispute that may arise.

FRANCE accorded Colonel Lindbergh a welcome which represents a sudden rise of friendly attitudes toward the United States that have been missing for a few years. Moreover, Lindbergh's personal conduct while in Paris is credited with doing more to "restore amicable relations between the two nations than all the diplomacy of a year." The suggestions made by Will Rogers that the United States government pension Lindbergh for life, give him a high position in aviation work, and that he in turn refrain from going on the vaudeville stage or otherwise "making exhibitions of himself" are well taken.

THE CHINESE SITUATION continues fraught with international danger. Russian communism has permeated a restless people chiefly in the form of a protest against "the economic imperialism" of Western powers. But it would substitute therefor "a proletariat and agnostic imperialism," and a disrespect for standard moral and social values that bodes ill for the social order. American Chinese missionaries have returned home in order that their presence may not embarrass native Chinese Christianity. Many of them, however, expect to return in two or three years, not as persons sent to convert a heathen people, but as persons invited to build up new life and purpose among a needy and worthy people.

GREAT BRITAIN severed relations with Russia as a protest against the latter's intrigue and subtle propaganda. Whether good or bad, Russia's cause, like that of capitalism, is immeasurably harmed by the use of subversive means. Underneath Great Britain's action is the struggle between capitalism and bolshevism. The severing of relations is a protest against the general activities of bolshevism as well as its particularistic propaganda technique. The peace of the world is unquestionably involved.

PRESIDENT COOLIDGE's proposal for another disarmament conference, despite the rebuffs accorded it by France and Italy, deserves active support of every believer in world peace. The Conference of 1922 was worth while, demonstrating splendid possibilities along this line. The Conference of 1927 met at the outset with much scepticism not only regarding possible agreements but also concerning the holding of the conference itself as a means of preventing war. Patience, tolerance, discussion, and a national willingness to sacrifice, will accomplish much; hence the cultivation of these virtues nationally speaking, is a prime essential.

AVIATION RECORDS are being broken so rapidly that the world scarcely has time to catch the meaning of each. Adventurous aviation, airmail aviation, passenger aviation, and other forms of commercial aviation are receiving so much attention that some of the deeper meanings of aviation are being overlooked. The world is being made a "neighborhood," while the gathering "neighbors" are still heavily loaded with guns, mutual jealousies, and mutual suspicions. They are all highly "patriotic" for "national" but not for world neighborhood purposes. They are all competing for economic power and social status. The coming together of the world into one neighborhood requires the rapid outlawry of war, the laying aside of weapons, and the building up of tolerance and of co-operative political, economic, and social arrangements.

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